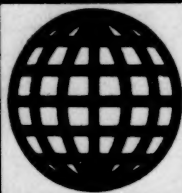


OF THE LIAISON OFFICE
29 JULY 1988



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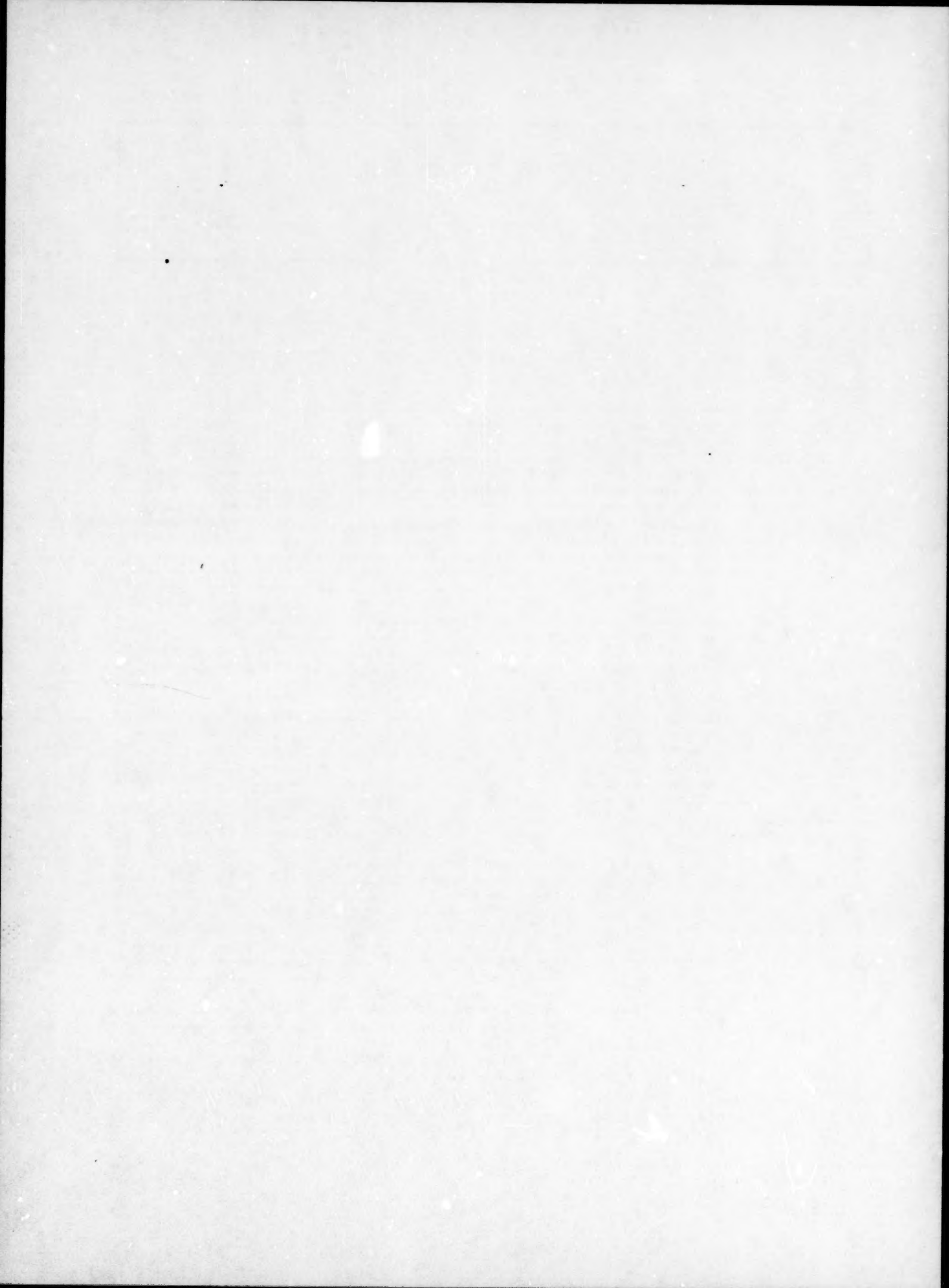
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POLAND

Polish, Libyan Bank Officials Meet

26000408e Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
25 May 88 p 2

[Text] On 24 May 1988, Wladyslaw Gwiazda, minister for foreign economic cooperation, met with Al-Zaruga Rajaba, chairman of the Libyan banking delegation and governor general of the Central Libyan Bank, who had arrived in Poland to carry out talks with the Polish National Bank. They discussed Polish-Libyan economic cooperation issues and the opportunities and prospects for development in future years.

12229/08309

Polish, Bulgarian Planning Commission Representatives Meet

26000408d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
25 May 88 p 2

[Text] On 24 May 1988, Zdzislaw Sadowski, vice-premier and chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission met with Dymitri Daczew, the first deputy minister of the Ministry of Economy and Planning of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

During the meeting they discussed the preparation of "Concepts of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between Poland and Bulgaria until the year 2005," by the central planning organs of both nations.

On 24 May 1988, a meeting took place at the Ministry of Construction and Land Use Management between Minister Bogumil Ferensztajn and Stefan Staknow, chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for Land Use Management. Ideas were exchanged concerning the organization of construction and direction of cooperation in the area of land use planning, urbanization, architecture, a system of construction planning, and reevaluation of the housing situation. Iwan Grujew, the Bulgarian ambassador was in attendance.

12229/08309

TPPR Hosts Soviet Combatants

26000415d Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
10 May 88 p 2

[Text] On the following day of its visit to our country, the delegation of Soviet combatants was received at the headquarters of the TPPR [Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship] Executive Board. During the meeting with the society's general secretary, Stefan Nawrot, and the chairman of the ZG TPPR Brotherhood in Arms, Army General Jan Raczkowski, the joint struggle against German Nazism crowned with the historical victory, and the

current relationship between Poland and the USSR were discussed. Much attention was devoted to the work of the TPPR and to the prospects of expanding contact between our nations.

9853/12232

Portuguese CP Delegation Visits

26000408c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
25 May 88 p 2

[Text] A four-member delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party Central Committee headed by Jorge Manuel Ferreira Cordeiro who is a member of the Lisbon PPK [State Enterprise for Circulation of Publications] regional organization, and a member of the Lisbon municipal organization responsible for cultural issues visited Poland. The delegation also included PPK activists, municipal advisers from Setubal, Portu, and Guimaraes. The delegation was interested in party activity on cultural issues, issues concerning the protection of cultural treasures, conservation of monuments, and cultural work by the local residents, etc. The guests visited Warsaw's monuments, the reconstructed Old City in Elblag, and the Old City in Gdansk. In Gdansk, Stanislaw Bejger, Central Committee Politburo deputy member and PZPR Provincial Committee first secretary met with the delegation and informed them about current political and socioeconomic problems in the region.

12229/08309

Nov 1987 Referendum Goals, Ambitions Criticized

26000308 Poznan WPROST in Polish
No 14, 3 Apr 88 pp 6-8

[Text] The diversity of positions, opinions, and points of view recently presented even in the press corroborates, it might appear, the current opinion of our contentiousness and tendency toward multiplication of entities beyond measure. However, when we look at the societies of other countries, ours in comparison appears uniform in thought, colorless, and dull. Avoiding the publication of controversial points of view, and at the same time exposing them to public evaluation, continually results in the belief that unity of thought is the highest virtue, quite a social ideal, which we should pursue. The experiences of countries which have reached a high level of development do not confirm this theory.

Our new series, in which we would like to present controversial opinions, points of view, and positions, and also of our readers, is an attempt to reconcile programmatic openness in writing with its programmatic line. Thus offering our column to various authors, we are observing the law of votum separatum. Our series begins with a publication on last year's referendum.

An individual not belonging to the political establishment can discover the intentions of the authorities mainly from their actions. On improvements "in

segments" in the system of government, the news from the past few years was decidedly good. I am not writing here about the results of these intentions, but about the legal acts themselves, projects, and the political thought behind them.

This idea, as it appeared to us, was based on the careful introduction of democracy in the rank and file. At the beginning came rural self-management, and the practical circles of opposition (e.g., the present Krakow Industrial Society) gave it their decided support. Indeed, we noted that for true self-management, villages, block committees, gminas [local commune administration], and cities must have their own money and not subsidies, but that was to come in the near future, and continually in the plans.

Next, I believed, should come a time for gmina, city, and voivodship self-management. It is quite trivial whether councillors will be entirely appointed, elected, or also (like now) appointed in part (the "state" and "voivodship" list—e.g., why do they not speak openly of appointments, but maintain the fiction of "elections"; I would prefer to be an appointed senator than an elected one!)—it is important that these councils have an appropriate (not too small and not too large) dose of self-management. However, it is a fact that were the majority of the councillors elected I would consider this positive, although as is known I am not a particular lover of democracy.

I note, however, that the lower the democracy, the greater it must be. In my own affairs I should decide everything myself. The state's interference in my family matters would be minimal. I also know better in the affairs of my block or village than the premier himself—although not in all matters, for general mechanisms could escape me. Self-management of the gmina and city must be more limited, which Mr Zygmunt Szeliga remembers continually, pointing out that if the gmina decided things concerning localization, then the necessary investments would not remain invested anywhere, since each district is even trying to cram its neighbor's market square, so that they would no longer mention atomic power plants. The voivodship should have even less self-management, and for this it should find an outlet in verifying that the gminas do not harass their citizens.

In any case, the science of governing one's own affairs lies in always beginning at the bottom. Only the most efficient in administering public money among the rural districts can be measured with the gmina's fund. Thus really, as I thought, was evolution to advance. The elected heads of society were to acquire experience, and along with this the broadening of democracy was to progress.

Meanwhile a conspiratorial group of hurray-democrats in PRON—could a group of eager PRON members win popularity at any price—decided to cut the sausage from

the other end and forced the referendum project. I beg to note that—independent of the results of the real referendum—this idea is most intensely contradictory with the idea under discussion just now of organic development. The referendum is based on the fact that people with no preparation or experience will have a say on the scale of the whole state!

Not taking these conditions into account the High Sejm, instead of boldly and deliberately expanding democracy at the gmina, district, and settlement level, listened to the hurray-democrats and deigned to fund the institution of a referendum for us. I immediately had a feeling that there would be problems with this. When the law saw the light of day I was already sure of this. I had bad experiences. Seven years before "Solidarity" democratically decided its electoral law; to this end it sought the opinion of nearly 10 million members, instead of engaging one expert in the theory of making decisions. The effect was a law so extraordinary that in several regions the elections were repeated in groups of 30 a couple times!

The basis for counting votes in the referendum adopted by vote of the Sejm was significantly simpler, and one must wonder at the people who managed to take the opportunity to complicate life in this arrangement. Allowing a situation in which a decisive majority may arise violates the elementary principle of symmetry!

Let us suppose just now that the question in the first historic referendum was formulated the other way around: "Do you want the government to introduce reform as slowly as possible? Let us establish that the population would behave rationally (which in general is not true, but more on this later). In such a case the response to the question posed would be like the one on 29 November: Yes—18.57 percent; No—44.28 percent, and thus the proposition to slow down reform would be absolutely, unequivocally acknowledged as being thrown out—in other words, the government would be obligated to implement it quickly!!

Since these are authentic responses, only put into a negative form, it is therefore impossible to accept the determination that the result Yes—44.28 percent, No—18.57 percent to the reverse question is not binding!

Opponents of reform lost. In the opposite case 18.57 percent would have imposed their will on a group three times as large! Hmmm. When I state that I am not an advocate of democracy, it is certainly not *that* which I have in mind!!!

So in my opinion the government is continually morally obligated to introduce reform quickly and radically. In the opposite case, along with nearly half the citizens I will feel that I've been made a fool of.

The very idea of asking people whether they want quick implementation of reform is absurd. In order to demonstrate this, let us consider the question of the law of universal gravitation. Without it, glasses would not shatter and it would be easy to carry weights, but there would be certain problems; so why limit the will of the people and not ask them whether they (meaning the people) would want to carry the weight of the earth?

Nonsense?

It is exactly the same kind of nonsense to ask the people whether they wished that the law of supply and demand prevailed. This law is in effect all the time, and our crisis consists in the fact that we spend a lot of energy fighting the effects of its action. The Sejm voted to have a referendum in the autumn: it was a wonderful time of year to show that by tying all the leaves to branches with thread it is also possible to fight the law of gravitation... Similarly, eliminating (ostensibly) the law of supply and demand, with goods having prices irrationally lower than we also pay—only with the time spent in lines. It can be proven that we do not pay less.

Finally, one can ask the citizens if they wish to abolish capital punishment, although even here there would be certain doubts. One can ask for opinions in local matters. The creators of this referendum did not, it seems, take into account the fact that 75 percent of the population of Poland do not know what "supply" is!!! These people also have no conception that the rate of institutional changes must be great, for bureaucracy grows like a hydra and this process must be overtaken. It seems to the people that it simply concerns a "gentler" operation. I am not certain whether operating on one's appendix for a week means "gentle treatment of the patient"—on the other hand, I am certain that if there is a hole in a ship's side the question, "Is the water being pumped faster than it is flowing in?" is very essential, and no captain would arrange a vote whether to pump slower or faster!

I note that similarly in the United States the majority of citizens are not oriented toward macroeconomics. These people simply do not participate in referendums or elections there, and all is in order. It is better for the country if those who do not understand do not have a say. In Poland, unfortunately, it was noted that participation in the referendum is an expression of support for the government. An effect of such reasoning might be a situation in which 30 percent vote yes, 10 percent no, and the remaining 60 percent are truly indifferent, but cast No votes (or Yes) for world peace and make the decision for those who understand and are anxious about the matter!

Especially comical are the explanations of various experts that the way it was stated was unusually awkward and, perhaps, a significant part of the citizens did not understand where to put their mark in order to express their will. This is really funny! An old woman who is not even in a state to understand where to put her mark just

stands, and the premier really is asking her what he is to do!!! The assumption that an individual who doesn't understand this simple thing does understand what the referendum question is about is something so absurd that I don't want to dwell on it any longer. On the other hand I'll point out that the various experts, ministers, ambassadors, councillors, and premiers are paid from the pocket of this same old woman, and paid by her in the hope that they will think of her, decide, and take responsibility on themselves. If I engage a ship's captain for a lot of money, it is not so that he would ask me via radiogram every two hours how much coal to pour under the boiler, and neither to arrange a vote among his staff for this purpose! If these ambassadors etc. are not doing this, then why the hell are they taking the money? So that they can avoid responsibility, throwing it onto the shoulders of the population?

At the same time I wish to remind the people formulating questions for referendum as well as those who interpret the responses of certain elementary results. In one of the experiments this was asked—and these are not idiots, but completely average people—"Six hundred persons are threatened with death, and there are only two possible life-saving operations. By the first, 200 people are saved. By the second, 400 die. Assuming that the cost of these operations is the same, which one would you decide on? (In reality it was somewhat more subtly disguised, but equally clear that the results of both are identical.) The differences—yes, differences!—in favor of the first (people like to save...) reached 30 percent.

The cognitive value of such responses is near zero, and no larger organization would survive which in technical matters makes use of referendums. If there is to be democracy already it should be representative and possibly multilevel.

At the same time I want to point out emphatically that these same people giving absurd responses to abstract questions show surprising outright keenness and good discernment in the real situations in which they themselves are engaged. It is interesting that this same legislator who humbly asks Kowalski for decisions on vital national matters does not consider Kowalski sufficiently responsible to permit him to decide whether he wants to insure himself or to do the crawl in the sea without a swimming card!

I'll end this cry of protest with a reminder of one famous maxim from Dr Bonislaw Lagowski: "If prices in Japan were decided by a universal vote by consumers, then Japan would soon become a second Poland," and I'll return to the concrete results of this real referendum.

To begin with, I don't know what the results are!

If we denote Yes by (+), No by (-), and abstention from voting by (=), it is possible to have eight different responses to these two questions: (++), (+-), (-+), (--), (=+), (+=), (-=), (=); the ninth logical possibility (==) was

aptly recognized as equivalent to non-participation in the referendum. I do not know how many votes fell on each combination, and I suspect the Central Returns Commission, which simply ordered the responses to both questions to be counted individually, also does not know. However, everyone admits that if there were 1000 (++) votes and 1000 (--) votes in Pcim, this is something completely different than if 1000 voted (+-) and 1000 voted (-+)! However in the report both situations are identical!

Moreover, people voted differently for various reasons. For example, Aleksander Bochenski wrote in "Odrodzenie" [Rebirth] that he would vote (+-): "Yes to the first, because I do not believe in the reform and I disapprove, and so the earlier it is crushed the better (!!!); No to the second, because I do not believe in democracy." On the other hand, I publicly proposed voting (+-), because although the chance for the reform's success may be seen as small, it is necessary to take advantage of it; and as far as democracy is concerned, it is not so much that I have an aversion to it, but I see this question as too broad; that for example the appointment of an IRCH in each gmina and endowment of it with the authority to shoot people picking their noses would also fall under the category of "development of democracy" in the question. Incidentally, I suggested to editor Andrzej Turski that I make a speech about it on TV, and am sorry that the offer was turned down (silently), for, perhaps, the first question could have passed with an absolute majority. Only a few percent would be lacking....

On the other hand the number of "No" responses to the second question would please me much more if it were not true that everywhere it was close to the number of "No" responses to the first question. As a statistician I declare that something is not in order here, but without an analysis of all eight possibilities in a territorial section, no study will be possible here. Perhaps Colonel Stanislaw Kwiatkowski really would accept a genuine offer of collaboration and would undertake the study of this phenomenon?

13324/9604

**Political Cadres, Problems in Sharing Power:
Krakow**

26000416a Warsaw RADA NARODOWA in Polish
No 12, 19 Mar 88 p 10

[Article by Juliusz Turek: "One's Own or the Best?"]

[Text] Cadre policies have evoked much controversy, particularly in the past, and have led to deep divisions, above all, because they monopolized a greater part of managerial posts for PZPR members and allied parties eliminating, in practice, many valuable skilled workers with no party affiliation. This made cadre policies highly undemocratic and, above all, impractical, thus causing serious economic, social, and political damage.

Therefore, the success of economic and sociopolitical reforms will depend in great measure on cadres, on the people themselves. The awareness of this fact has meant that cadre policy has already been subjected to extremely sharp criticism—even for these times—at the Ninth PZPR Congress. The result was the working out of "The Main Assumptions of PZPR Cadre Policy."

These assumptions envisage that the criteria for the selection of cadres for managerial, economic, and government posts should be, above all, ideological-political and ethical-moral qualities expressed in the full acceptance of the regime principles of socialism, honesty, modesty, culture, and reliability in implementing assigned tasks; proper professional qualifications rising from well-established expertise and experience confirmed by work performance to date; organizational and managerial capabilities as well as the ability to foresee the social, political, and economic effects of decisions made; skill in shaping proper interpersonal relations; and abiding by the principles of socialist social justice, etc.

However, the new PZPR cadre policy formulated at the 13th CC Plenum and based on two principles: objectivity in evaluating people and openness, has not as yet created a feeling of conviction within society about the elimination from cadre policy of old practices also because current practice all too often swerves from the binding assumptions. For this very reason, the 10th PZPR Congress once again submitted to criticism the methods of the implementation of cadre policy without, however, submitting any of the adopted principles for revision. However, despite the unanimous stand of the PZPR leadership, it is still felt in some echelons that the party's cadre policy is based on placing as many managerial posts as possible in the hands of party members. There are many reasons for such reasoning but it also cannot be ruled out that such a state of affairs comes from avoidance of inconvenience and from the inability to work with people: in talking to a director or manager without party affiliation, objective arguments cannot be replaced with references to party discipline. Without rational cadre policy that is free of social distrust, it is impossible to build national understanding and, above all, achieve the goals of the second phase of the economic reform and the closely tied to it deep political and social reforms aimed at fulfilling social expectations and the challenges of the future.

The Krakow Version

The Krakow party organization had accepted the reality of this fact several years ago already recognizing that cadre policy is moreover a sensitive barometer of the democratization of economic and sociopolitical life. The effects of such thinking are currently as follows: of the 42,000 managerial posts in the province, beginning with the foreman all the way to the mayor of the city of Krakow, the PZPR encompasses approximately 6,700 posts with political type agreements (recommendations,

agreements with political allies, political acceptance). They are in the nomenclature of the PZPR Krakow Committee; in district committees; in municipal, gmina, and plant committees of the largest, key, work establishments in the province. Of these 42,000 posts, 51.1 percent are occupied by those with no party affiliation. At the same time, it is true that the higher the post, the lower the percentage of those with no party affiliation. Despite this, 25 percent of posts and functions "at the very top" are held by those without party affiliation. Last year, the Krakow party organization together with its allies, social, and professional organizations, and PRON initiated the making of 1,414 various decisions (appointment, promotion, competition, etc.) regarding personnel occupying posts in the field of the party organization's interest. These decisions affected, above all, PZPR members as well as ZSL, SD, and remaining allies. However, they also concerned those without party affiliation since they constituted approximately 25 percent of this group. This appears to be quite a lot in view of the fact that there are approximately 6,700 posts in the PZPR nomenclature and that not more than 3 to 4 years ago, this percentage did not exceed 10 to 12 percent.

However, the director of the PZPR Krakow Committee Cadre Policy Department, Edward Kwiecien, is not happy with the results of the work of his department. First of all, because of the 1,414 cadre decisions made last year, only 70 percent concerned people from the so-called reserve cadre. This means that those that are considered the best were not the only ones to find themselves in it or that still too often we "forget" about its existence. He is also not happy because of these decisions, only 16 percent pertained to young people (up to 29 years of age) and up to the age of 35, there were 25.6 percent of them. Therefore, this did not improve the overall statistic—young skilled workers (up to age 29) constitute scarcely 14 percent of the managerial cadre in the province.

The reasons for this state of affairs are varied. Often, the younger ones become eliminated by the rules alone—if, for example, in the competition regulations, a condition stipulates that a candidate must show proof of 8 to 10 years of working experience in managerial positions, then it is obvious that young people straight out of college do not, in practice, qualify. And particularly, the ambitious, restless, searching ones who in wishing to do things their way often enter into various conflicts and, therefore, just as often fall into disfavor, and advancement to a managerial position comes their way less often than to those who are more submissive. The other side of the coin is that the inflow of young, talented skilled workers to the reserve cadre is low. Despite their complaints that young people have a difficult time starting out, youth organizations do not nominate very many of them. Besides this, the natural method of gradually advancing to increasingly higher levels of a professional career seems little attractive and too tedious to a part of the young generation. Added to this are seemingly weakened aspirations, the increasingly more common belief

that it does not pay to occupy a managerial position and also that the educational system does not prepare young people adequately to take up and fulfill higher professional functions.

The problem of young skilled professionals is not troublesome only to the director of the PZPR Coordinating Committee Cadre Policy Department. Similar problems are encountered by Ludwik Gora, director of the City of Krakow Administration Department of Cadres and Training. "Conducting a sensible policy in state administration is not easy," he assesses. "Every personnel decision is preceded by a search: we must conduct at least 10 interviews to find a willing candidate. And if there is one, he often takes so long in making up his mind that we have to give him strong encouragement and this, unfortunately, is frequently without results. Sometimes, young people 'allow' themselves to be inducted into the reserve cadre; they attend courses and participate in training but when it comes to making a decision, they say, 'Pass'."

A similar problem is also encountered by ZSL. Simply put, there is scarcely 11 percent young people (up to the age of 29) in the Krakow organization. And barely a handful of young people with a higher education. Therefore, how can we talk about a reserve cadre or cadre policy? In trying to correct this unfavorable situation, the Krakow ZSL organization has been recently conducting an active political and organizational campaign in institutions of higher learning in search of new members among students so as to in this way assure itself the flow of "new blood" and at the same time, young, educated cadres of which there is still often a shortage in rural areas.

The situation is similar in the SD, in Catholic societies, social organizations.... It appears as if though young people are not attracted to managerial posts.

'To Have or To Be'

But are they the only ones? The vice chairman of the PRON Krakow Council feels that this is a wider phenomenon. "A large portion of skilled professionals with experience and knowledge, who should be taken into consideration for filling managerial posts and functions, today prefer 'to have' than 'to be'," he states. Does this mean that "to be" is so at odds with "to have"? It turns out that this is the case—a post or function today give increasingly less socially significant splendor and along with this a myriad of problems. This particularly concerns state administration.

Director Gora knows something about this: in searching for a candidate for city and gmina manager at one time, he had to conduct 27 interviews with potential candidates so as to finally nominate 2 for consideration before political authorities and the people's council. The situation is not much better in industry—wages are, admittedly, higher in this sector but the everyday problems are

also correspondingly higher. Therefore, trying to find a candidate for administrative work from among people in industry is a futile task. And not only in administration.

Conclusion No 1 is, therefore, as follows: cadre policy is not implemented in a void. If wage systems will not encourage good skilled workers to run for managerial positions, then neither Director Kwiecien, nor Director Gora nor Vice Chairman Pajak can do much here. And wages are only one issue. Another one is, for example, the status of the director. If we are talking about cadre policy, such facts must be taken into account as well, since they are of great importance to its structure.

Practice Is the Deciding Factor

However, they do not determine its shape. Political will and, above all, everyday practice that arises from it determine this. That is why the Krakow party organization devotes so much effort to creating a large reserve cadre and what follows—its systematic work. Currently, this cadre numbers 2,200 persons and besides PZPR, ZSL, and SD members, it is also made up of approximately 30 percent nonparty members of Catholic societies; people recommended by plant, municipal, gmina elements; the PRON Krakow Council; workers self-governments; trade unions; etc. In wishing to help future directors and managers to raise their qualifications, a so-called course of study for the improvement of managerial cadres was organized in cooperation with the Academy of Economics. In recent years, the main emphasis has been placed on broadening knowledge in the area of economics, organization, management, law, etc.—areas in which the second phase of the economic reform will require true skill and professionalism. Besides the reserve cadre, the leaders of the provincial cadre, among others, are undergoing systematic training.

Workers services are also in the sphere of interest of the PZPR Coordinating Committee's Department of Cadre Policy. Last year, assistant directors for worker related matters, and cadre members from 65 provincial work establishments were invited to a meeting in order to get an idea of their knowledge on the subject of the economic reform, cadre policy assumptions, etc. They were given a test. The results were not very encouraging: approximately 30 percent of the answers were correct. Therefore, a mandatory 60-hour course was organized for everyone, devoted to these problems and issues. A subsequent test came out much better: there were many very good answers. At the same time, the work organization of departments dealing with worker-related issues was looked at and their efficiency assessed. And here there was a lot to be done, also. Therefore, a special group made up of the employees of those services was formed and they were sent to attend the course.

One of the conditions for the implementation of an active cadre policy is also thorough knowledge about the people who make up or will make up this cadre. For this reason, among others, a specific report on the state of

cadres in gminas was prepared in January of last year by the PZPR Coordinating Committee's Department of Cadre Policy. Talks were conducted based on surveys specifically prepared for that purpose with all people with a higher education, thereby, obtaining a precise picture of the state of the rural cadre, its conditions, frame of mind, problems and needs. At the same time, the surveys revealed which provincial level institutions are not concerned with, for example, raising the qualifications of their employees; which ones have a reserve cadre and which ones do not; etc. It turned out that of the 3,000 persons with a higher education who work in rural areas, teachers number the most (52 percent) whereas there are decidedly less engineers-farm specialists (13 percent), physicians (8 percent), engineers-technicians (6 percent), and lawyers (approximately 3 percent); and that their basic problem is a shortage of housing and low wages. The conclusions derived from the report were discussed at a meeting of the representatives of enterprises and institutions whose elements [ogniwa] are in gminas (WZGS, BGZ, state administration, etc.) and recommendations were made for specialistic cadres and work out a program of providing for the needs of these cadres.

'Together'—A Command or a Slogan?

These several hard facts show that the Krakow party organization is conducting an active, well thought-out cadre policy. However, director Kwiecien feels that his department should have better "achievements" if only in appointing young skilled professionals including those with no party affiliation. He is also concerned about the fact that last year it was necessary to rescind party recommendations of as many as 49 persons of which 16 were withdrawn by the provincial echelon. Despite this, the vice chairman of the PRON Krakow Council, Ryszard Pajak, states: "I am encouraged by the attitude of the Krakow party organization. It is conducting a truly open cadre policy while working in increasingly closer cooperation with PRON. We give our opinion on every candidate for a managerial post including those with no party affiliation. Even on those running for the highest positions. I believe that it is possible to talk about the beginning of a certain practice in this regard. This concerns not only the Krakow Council because town and gmina councils, and plant circles are also asked to give their opinions. Recently, 'demands' are being made on us for 'our' candidates assuring them participation in training that will raise their qualifications."

Recently, the Krakow PRON has been developing its structures. Plant circles are being created more and more frequently. They search for their place in plants next to PZPR organizations, at times next to ZSL, workers self-governments, trade unions, etc. Cadre issues are finding themselves increasingly more often in their sphere of interests. This is a very important fact, a new quality in the political landscape of work establishments. But not only here. "It will be difficult but POP secretaries will have to break their old habits and accept the fact

that their partners in shaping cadre policies in work establishments will also be chairmen of PRON circles who have no party affiliation," states Vice Chairman Ryszard Pajak.

This will be difficult, indeed, because of the 40 years of a different practice and also because PRON, as a social movement is still young and not very experienced. The same applies to its activists. This is the main reason why the PRON Krakow Council feels that it is not yet ready to sign with its signatories an agreement on the subject of the implementation of a joint cadre policy in the province. "We still have to learn to create this policy," states Vice Chairman Pajak. "A joint policy with partners from the PZPR, ZSL, SD; Catholic societies; social organizations; trade unions; etc. We have to come to terms on this subject and then put it in writing. But we must act today—together."

It seems that this opinion expressed by the vice chairman of the PRON Krakow Council gets down to the crux of the matter. I get the feeling that to date, all Krakow PRON signatories excluding the Krakow party organization continue to conduct a "cadre policy" arising from the "party key." This is an "office room" policy that is passive and one that does not activate the communities that constitute their social base. In reality, they are not conducting (perhaps only partially except for ZSL) any cadre distinction with regard to the cadres that are in the field of their interests; they are not looking for new people for the reserve cadre. Organizations and echelons of the PZPR are doing a lot but they will never be able to do everything by themselves if only because in the PZPR itself there is a battle with old habits and customs. Because of its open policy, PRON could be a forum enabling discussion and the assessment of the implementation of the principles of a joint cadre policy of all the signatories of this movement. And it ought to be joint if the implementation of the second phase of the economic reforms and the closely associated with it political and social reforms is to succeed.

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Voivodship Plenums Focus on Strikes, Elections

Konin Names PZPR Candidates

26000402 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
16 May 88 p 2

[Article by Ryszard Slawinski: "PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum in Konin"]

[Text] At its plenary session, the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Konin discussed PZPR members to be put forth as candidates to the people's councils at all levels. Lech Ciupa, First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee led the deliberations. Voivodship Committee Secretary Andrzej Krutki gave information on the course of meetings held to consult the citizenry. There

were nearly 1,100 such meetings, and nearly 5,000 candidates were consulted. There was secret voting for the PZPR members to be designated as candidates.

During the latter half of the meeting, the plenum received information concerning the letters, complaints, and suggestions which the Voivodship Committee and the basic PZPR echelons had received during 1987.

Gdansk on Poststrike Situation

26000402 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
17 May 88 p 2

[Article by Zbigniew Wrobel: "Party Findings and Tasks: PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum in Gdansk"]

[Text] The deliberations at the plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gdansk on 16 May included assessments of preparations for the people's council elections and the execution of socioeconomic tasks in the voivodship during 1987.

Stanislaw Bejger, First Secretary of the party's Voivodship Committee in Gdansk and alternate to the PZPR Central Committee's Politburo opened the deliberations saying: "We are holding our plenary session today after having come through a difficult and dangerous stage of tensions that have built up along with uneasiness and the discharge of public dissatisfaction, which have grown out of fears concerning living conditions and the absence of visible effects of the economic reform, especially economic imbalance, higher prices, and a poor supply of many commodities on the market. Taking advantage of the public's economically-based dissatisfaction, our political adversary has tried to give the protests a political nature with demands that 'Solidarity' be legalized.

"The scenario was usually about the same. It began by getting together a well-organized 'storm group,' which prevailed upon the working forces to strike. Then a strike committee came forward to list its demands, and whenever possible it sat in at the gate or in various plant facilities. These actions were immediately supported in the propaganda of various foreign mass media and by various antisocialist groups in Poland and elsewhere." "In analyzing the causes and course of the events on the [Baltic] Coast," Stanislaw Bejger said, "we can state with complete certainty that in our country we have been dealing with a serious test of strength by the extremist 'Solidarity' group and other antisocialist elements against the people's leaders and our party in an attempt to exert an influence on the masses, especially the working class.

This test of strength was unnecessary, because it brought about great losses, especially economic ones. Despite everything it demonstrated that the working masses

would not support the extremists, because they understood that strikes are not in their interests and that strike organizers are interested not in serious discussions about better material conditions but only in having their political goals recognized.

"I do not hide the fact that while these events were going on we were criticized on various sides and had various actions proposed to us. We analyzed them in detail. We weighed their pluses and minuses. I think that overall we adopted the strategy and tactics which were correct under the circumstances and which led to political solutions beneficial to working people, without any winners and losers, while availing ourselves of the aid of all those people interested in a proper resolution of conflicts.

"I think that we have many reasons to be self-critical," he continued. "We must do a great deal to remove various deficiencies in our party work. Working people criticize our actions, especially the fact that we are so slow in carrying them out, and they present their fears concerning the results, but they nonetheless have come steadfastly to the conclusion that the opposition does not provide them with any reliable, readable, alternative plans that could insure them a better future.

"We take the lack of support from the working people of the coast for the actions of the extremist 'Solidarity' group to be support for our program of democratization and economic reform, which we must translate into concrete actions. Now we must make a thorough-going analysis of the existing situation, the various instances of neglect, the improper actions, and the poor results of our work, and we must use these assessments to draw practical conclusions and implement these conclusions. Self-satisfaction over the return to normalcy would be demobilizing and interfere with our work. We must become sensitive to the various ways that dissatisfaction manifests itself and eliminate quickly the sources of conflicts in the workplace, cooperating with the trade unions, on the one hand, and management and the workers' councils, on the other. Although it is difficult to do so, the plant party organizations must learn to act in the role of mediators to ease conflicts as they arise," S. Bejger said in conclusion.

Experience from the current period of implementing the next stage of economic changes provides a good foundation for achieving good results over the whole year. In industry, for example, production increased by 14 percent, and we note similar favorable trends in coastal agriculture, but this favorable picture of the situation will have to be corrected once there is a full accounting of the production losses resulting from the several days' interruption of work at the Gdansk Shipyards, which last year, for example, provided 5 percent of the region's total production sold.

Wiktor Borch, First Secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee of the Gdansk Shipyards, stated: "The workers' council, the trade union, and management, along with the plant party organization are preparing a program to make up for the losses in the shortest possible time. To do this, the work force will probably have to put in several free Saturdays and work longer shifts. Using the solutions of the second stage of the reform, the shipyard workers will not reduce their target of making the plant entirely self-sufficient in financial terms in 1990-1991, by putting it in healthy economic condition."

Henryk Pilarski, director of "Hydroster," said: "The process of implementing the second stage of the reform calls for a certain pertinacity and patience, along with greater energy; in moving through routine steps in decision making, and new staff behaviors, from journeyman to director, a change from the model of 'organizing' to that of 'doing.'"

Presenting an objective, critical account of current information on the implementation of the reform, those present at the plenum emphasized the party organizations' obligation to reject the attitude of expecting to find an effortless way out of past problems.

In the resolution adopted, the plenum emphasized those tasks of greatest importance to the region's economy in implementing the tasks of the second stage of the reform during the current period. In the course of the deliberations, the candidacy of PZPR members running for office as council members was accepted in secret balloting.

(PAP) The PZPR Voivodship Committee in Olsztyn learned about the stage of preparations for people's council elections in Olsztyn Voivodship and designated candidates to run, under PZPR auspices, for the office of council member of the Voivodship People's Council.

Local Candidates Named

26000402 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
16 May 88 p 2

[Article: "PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum Deliberations"]

[Text]

Biala Podlaska

The task of party members during the final phase of the campaign for elections to the people's councils was discussed on 17 May at the plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Biala Podlaska.

On behalf of the voivodship party organization, the Voivodship Committee Plenum in Biala Podlaska recommended to the voivodship elections collegium those PZPR members selected to be candidates to run for election to membership on the Voivodship People's Council.

Bialystok

The period preceding election day calls for special mobilization efforts and political activity, and the conclusions and course of the campaign should be reflected in practical terms in the activity of the party organizations and echelons, according to statements made on 17 May at the PZPR Voivodship Committee plenum in Bialystok.

In secret balloting, plenum attendees recommended PZPR candidates for council members to sit on the Voivodship People's Council.

Ciechanow

The voivodship party organization's tasks in bolstering the rank and position of the people's councils served as the subject of the PZPR Voivodship Committee plenum in Ciechanow, which was held on 17 May. Kazimierz Paryszek, First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee, chaired the deliberations.

In secret voting the members of the plenum selected candidates to represent the PZPR on the ballots and recommended candidates outside the party.

Elblag

The campaign leading up to the people's council elections helped to awaken considerable activity among party members and party echelons and organizations in the voivodship, according to statements made on 17 May at the plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Elblag.

Tasks of the party echelons and organizations while the election campaign continues in Elblag Voivodship were listed at the plenum. PZPR members were recommended as candidates to serve as council members.

Poznan

The PZPR Voivodship Committee plenum in Poznan was devoted in essence to an assessment of the previous course of action and a description of the immediate tasks for the party echelons and organizations of Poznan Voivodship during the people's council election campaign.

Skierniewice

The plenary deliberations of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Skierniewice on 17 May were devoted to the tasks of the party organizations during the election campaign and within the process of bolstering the self-governing nature and jurisdiction of the people's councils.

In this region there were about 500 consultation meetings, at which profiles of 5,564 persons running for the 1,771 positions on the people's councils at the town, parish (gmina), and voivodship levels were presented.

In secret balloting the plenum recommended PZPR members as candidates for members of the voivodship people's council.

Joint PZPR, SD Plenum in Poznan
26000402 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
28-30 May 88 p 2

[Article by Henryk Heller: "Chance of Improved Services To Be Found in Better Work: Plenum of PZPR and SD Voivodship Committees in Poznan"]

[Text] The joint plenary session of the PZPR and SD voivodship committees in Poznan on 27 May focused on issues related to services in Poznan Voivodship and tasks related to their development in the course of implementing the second stage of the economic reform.

Edward Lukasik, First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, chaired the deliberations. Tadeusz Mlynczak, chairman of the Democratic Party's Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of State; Marian Wozniak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, and Gabriela Rembisz, Politburo alternate, attended the plenum.

As a broad question directly related to the society's quality of life, the issue of services has already served more than once as a subject of joint sessions of the executive board of the [PZPR] Voivodship Committee and the Presidium of the [SD] Voivodship Committee, but this was the first time in Poznan that joint plenary deliberations were devoted to evaluating services and trade and assessing their development.

At the plenum, Alojzy Bryl, chairman of the SD Voivodship Committee, gave the address of the PZPR Executive Board and the SD Presidium. There was an assessment of the key problems in both the material and nonmaterial spheres of all areas of service operations, including material services, trade and mass catering, public health and social welfare, public transportation, postal and telecommunications services, and the functioning of the administration in housing and the municipal economy.

Alojzy Bryl, chairman of the SD Voivodship Committee, chaired the afternoon session. The draft of a text which members of the SD and PZPR plenum prepared together concerning the development of services in Poznan Voivodship was presented for discussion.

Marian Wozniak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, also took the floor.

Cultural Issues Raised

26000402 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
31 May 88 p 2

[Article by Stanislaw Zielinski: "Neither a Cultural Desert nor an Oasis: PZPR Voivodship Committee in Katowice"]

[Text] Returning after 14 years to the subjects of culture and art and their development and dissemination, the PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum in Katowice yesterday was without a doubt a political event that had been anticipated in the region. During the past years, economic and social realities have changed tremendously, and many problems, doubts, and questions had built up.

These latter were raised both by artists and by those who want to take greater advantage of the Polish cultural contribution on a daily basis. Zygmunt Muranski, member of the Central Committee's Politburo; Andrzej Wasilewski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Tadeusz Sawic, head of the PZPR Central Committee's Department of Culture, and Aleksander Krawczuk, Minister of Culture and Art, also took part in the deliberations. Voivodship Committee First Secretary Manfred Gorywoda, Politburo alternate, chaired the plenum.

"Is Silesia a cultural desert, as you often hear it said in everyday conversation and elsewhere?"

Wilhelm Szewczyk replied: "This phrase, from the moment of its inception, has been heatedly rejected by various journalists during the 1970's, who had literally repeated it word for word, but it would make more sense to unlock the provocative idea it contained concerning the cultural offerings in the region.

"It is an indisputable fact that our local artists are making an important contribution to the Polish national treasury of culture, as powerfully shown by the well-known and respected contribution of Silesian musicians, including composers, as well as masters of the visual arts. Dramatic and musical theaters are in operation here, some of which are for children, along with important orchestras and bands, stage presentations, and so on. It is therefore difficult to talk about being in a desert.

"On the other hand, it is also true that the impoverished base of the region's facilities does not meet contemporary needs, and therefore there is a smaller circle of potential customers for culture."

Jan Pierzchala, chairman of the administration of ZLP's Katowice branch, called to mind the socialist revolution's humanistic purpose, the spiritual renaissance of the human individual. It is therefore necessary to break through quickly whatever is still blocking access to culture or hampering its development, as seen in the rising costs of books and elsewhere. Jan Czepiel, secretary of the PZPR Krakow Committee, who attended the plenum, gave assurances that cultural institutions near the Wawel Castle [in Krakow] were ready for closer cooperation with the Katowice region.

In his address, Aleksander Krawczuk referred to certain problems and stated that the agreement which the Minister of Culture and Art had signed with the Katowice Voivodship governor would have great practical significance for the development of the voivodship's cultural base and for the further operation of professional art institutions, including the educational system.

In closing, Andrzej Wasilewski said that the plenum had not been a gala celebration, as there had frequently been in talks about culture in the past. Instead, people here had been trying carefully to look at and weigh the condition of Silesian culture, a correct diagnosis had been presented, and practical conclusions had been drawn.

The Central Committee secretary said that the plenum had also mobilized central institutions, including the government and the Central Committee, to take a more careful look at the needs of Silesian culture. And it was a good thing, because if care for the socialist state is to prove itself in the spiritual development of working people, then it must prove itself here first of all.

The plenum adopted a resolution listing in detail the tasks for the whole voivodship party organization in the realm of art and culture, and their development and dissemination.

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Reservations Expressed About Potential Abuses of Special Powers

26000424 Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 21, 22 May 88 p 3

[Article by Leszek Bedkowski: "The Unknown Factor of Special Powers: Sejm Powers Should Not Turn Into Manual Assist for an Automaton"]

[Text] "We made our bed and now we got to lie in it," a female deputy declared on 11 May with reference to the customary method of introducing reform measures, several hours before the Sejm had decided on the so-called extraordinary [special] powers for the government.

The public feeling which she reflected is probably known to the government, as may be demonstrated by a passage from the prime minister's address to the Sejm in which

he admits that "the society's response, as based on watching the store shelves, is that the recent price-income measures are a dud."

The reforms have been proceeding at a snail's pace for 7 years. They are a patchwork of compromises, not only between the authorities and the society but also among various social groups and various segments of the authorities: between those who voice sincere intentions and chameleon-like tacticians; between ideology and economics; between awareness of the need for change and the pragmatic requirements of handling a bogged-down economy bequeathed by the past. All this is occurring at the cost of rising social tension.

There has been a tangible decline in the dynamism of the reforms and a concomitant decline in the number of their supporters. The proclamation of the so-called second stage of the reform was an attempt to change this situation. But already at the outset this proved to be yet another compromise. Thus, something had to be done. The question remained: what?

Last March, at the 10th Congress of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Supreme Committee, General Wojciech Jaruzelski made public a proposal for eventually endowing the government with special powers should the economic-financial performance of the first quarter of the year be interpreted as a serious warning.

The results of the first quarter, while not optimistic, did not at first indicate that the special powers would be resorted to. However, this decision was certainly accelerated by the strikes and the threat of the outbreak of open social conflict. This conclusion may be warranted by the fact that, while according to the initial announcement the legislating procedure was to be such that the Politburo of the Central Committee would ask the Caucus of PZPR Deputies to the Sejm to propose the necessary legislation, a shorter path was ultimately selected: the government itself drafted the enabling legislation.

The government draft of the decree on special powers for the Council of Ministers was submitted to the Sejm on 30 April. At that time it had consisted of a brief preamble and 13 articles. The Sejm passed the decree on 11 May; thus, the legislators worked on it for an unusually short period of time compared with the fate of many other proposals, e.g., the anti-monopoly decree, which has been in preparation for many years.

Even so, however, during those 12 days the draft was revised considerably, because its original version electrified many constituencies. On 4 May the government submitted a new draft incorporating revisions that made allowances for the position of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Alliance]. Thus, provisions prohibiting strikes

and protest actions and specifying penalties for participation in them were deleted and the provision concerning collective [labor-management] disputes were modified.

That was because in the OPZZ's opinion the original draft provided for suspending the rights of trade unions to represent and protect the rights and interests of working people and their families. This position, taken by the OPZZ Executive Committee, was strengthened when it resolved on a kind of appeal supporting every legal action on behalf of the interests of working people and their struggle to preserve real wages and living standards. "The bureaucratic, inconsistent, and chaotic implementation of the reform so far has produced neither the expected economic results nor the desired preservation of the living standards of working people, pensioners, and annuitants.

Some of this language resembled that of many supporters of the reform who were in disarray because of the submission of this draft decree to the Sejm. They had repeatedly pointed to the fact that slow-moving bureaucracy forfeited or missed many opportunities for applying reforms more resolutely, because it submitted to, e.g., powerful pressures from certain industry subsectors (the rise of "Megat," "Elpol," and other enterprise associations, the operation of cooperative unions). It had blunted the edge of much of the proposed reform legislation, blocked many socioeconomic undertakings and initiatives, and procrastinated in voiding obsolete regulations and eliminating obsolete practices, so that now, in a much more complex situation, special powers are being resorted to as the only remaining lifebelt.

It was only after making comments of this kind that tergiversating reformers were ready to support the proposal for granting special powers to the government. To be sure, not all of them were in favor as turned out during the special session of the Sejm's Socioeconomic Council on 6 May.

That session considered a revised draft decree containing nine instead of 13 articles. But, for example, Professor Henryk Sadownik commented that we are proceeding in a very bad direction, because manual steering has not proved itself. Ten of the Council's members were opposed and 17 abstained, and ultimately the Council hedged its approval of the measure with a set of conditions. Thus, if the government believes that it needs special powers, these should be granted to it on coupling this to the warning that any abuse of these powers threatens a return to the directive-command system.

The Council moreover suggested that the special powers be granted to the prime minister alone rather than to the entire government. It turns out, however, that constitutional law precludes such a possibility. The decree, therefore, retains an article authorizing the Council of Ministers to delegate powers to the prime minister.

Amendments were proposed by deputies from, e.g., the Sejm's Extraordinary Commission for Applying the Economic Reform. They deleted from the draft the proposed powers of the government to impose a so-called stabilization tax on individuals and to prohibit spending from plant social service and housing funds.

Even on the last day before the Sejm's session many constituencies and organizations prepared comments or took a position on this enabling decree. Many of them were similar in tone: it should be clearly stressed that this refers to support for reform measures. They were united in their apprehensions that the special powers would not willy-nilly promote "uravnilovka" [Russian term for wage egalitarianism] and a hedging mentality, and in their hopes that these special powers would indeed provide a field of maneuver for initiative and entrepreneurialism.

As ultimately passed, the decree consists of nine articles and is to remain binding until 31 December 1988. (Its complete text was published in the daily newspapers.)

"Does the new decree interfere with the legal system?" asked the Deputy who had presented it to the Sejm, Kazimierz Paszek, and immediately answered, "Yes, this accounts for its special nature. However, this decree merely waives instead of voiding other legislation whose provisions conflict with it."

From this it ensues that if the government does not avail itself of some of these special powers then there will be no conflict and the normal legislation remains binding.

The reasons for proposing the draft decree were explained by Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner. The prime minister's speech was published by the daily press, so that here only a few of its aspects need to be considered.

In the prefatory part of his address the prime minister referred to the generally known opinions on the unsatisfactory progress in reforming the economy.

He confirmed that the preparation of specific decisions linked to the functioning of the decree will be the personal responsibility of Zdzislaw Sadowski, with whom the national and local government will cooperate closely.

The prime minister also described the new legislation being drafted (decree on undertaking economic activity [i.e., on private enterprise], decree on securities, regulations governing joint-stock companies, a thorough restructuring of the tax system, a commercial law code), which is to dispel fears that the special powers would make a mockery of the second stage of the reform.

He drew attention on the need to take a position on the proposal of the International Monetary Fund—in the form of the so-called Adjustment Program which essentially provides for a temporary curtailment of consumption, abandonment of capital-intensive investments, more realistic prices, and elimination of inefficient enterprises—with the object of increasing exports (this is discussed by Piotr Aleksandrowicz in the article "A Tough Game" elsewhere in this issue).

But so far as the money and market equilibrium is concerned, the government at present does not consider a wage and price freeze necessary.

The discussion among the deputies confirmed (21 took the floor) that the justification for introducing special powers is insufficiently intelligible and that such introduction itself will not meet with unanimous approbation.

An outsider commented that the special powers are a double-edged sword. What matters is whose hands will wield it, what circumstances will it be used in, which side of the sword will be employed, and how right and precise will the cuts be. Similarly, the deputies, while they did vote in favor of the decree (382 yeas, no nays, two abstentions), expressed many doubts in the discussion and looked like people who were taking a great and, given the situation, special risk.

The greatest skepticism was voiced by Aleksander Legatowicz (nonparty). Proceeding from the premise that the reform signifies "automating the economic process," he commented that the sole way out of the situation is to restructure the automaton, since its performance is flawed. Instead, he said, a manual assist was decided upon. This means that, among other things, an additional system of laws in the form of special powers is superposed on the traditional and rather unstable legal system. Besides, the government is thus taking on a huge responsibility. Will it have sufficient time and strength to intervene in, e.g., the operations of individual cooperatives, considering how much effort is required even now to promote the implementation of the scheduled objectives of the second stage of the economic reform?

Altogether, according to Deputy Legatowicz, unless the government makes some major mistake, the positive or negative consequences of the special powers will be negligible.

The differences in the attitude of the deputies were reflected in their language. "Safeguarding the reform in the event of perils" (Krystyna Jandy-Jendroska, nonparty); "An emergency brake" (Krystyna Zielinska-Zarzycka, PZPR); "An important and necessary episode, but only an episode, which will not prejudice the fate of the reform" (Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, ZSL).

Many deputies observed that the adoption of the special powers by the government was not preceded by a thorough assessment of the unfolding of the events so far. The view expressed here and there that everything was just fine except that consumers had too much cash floating around was regarded as pointing to lack of self-criticism. "For this is not so. We need a substantive change in the government's actions, and in that respect the special powers will not help much." The deputies Jozef Szawiec (SD [Democratic Party]) and Jerzy Wilk (PZPR) both stated that they still were awaiting a thorough analysis of the fiasco of the wage-price policy so far. In connection with the above, Krzysztof Maksymiuk (nonparty) reasonably stated that every step, now that the special powers are adopted, should be preceded by a thorough assessment of the situation, on proceeding, however, from the premise, voiced at the Sejm, that "economics is not simple arithmetic."

Noting the tremendous pressures exerted by the anti-reform forces (mentioned by, among others, Jerzy Lutomski on behalf of the Caucus of PZPR Deputies), the deputies ultimately agreed to granting special powers to the government. Tomasz Adamczuk (ZSL) argued that such an enabling act has at least one virtue—it pinpoints responsibility. Thus, the government was asked to be proactive, because "the reform is hurt by both absence of action and abandonment of action." Certain deputies (Mieczyslaw Kucapski, PZPR, and Walenty Milenuszkin, nonparty) cottoned to this idea so much that they at once proposed prolonging the period of applicability of the special powers.

Comments by other deputies, however, pointed to the attendant risks which might result in paralyzing entrepreneurialism. The deputies applauded the speech by Mikolaj Kozakiewicz who stated, "Not a day longer than necessary and [these special powers should] never be applied to persons and enterprises whose performance does not imperil the reform."

Several days ago ("Special Powers for the Reform," PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY, No 14, 88) we identified the domains to which the government's special powers should eventually apply. We also expressed the view that the quality of these special powers can be assured through contacts of the government with teams of experts.

It can only be added that, e.g., during the Second Republic, the Sejm had passed on 29 December 1925 the Decree on Safeguarding the Sales of Staple Consumer Goods which granted special powers to the government and consisted of five articles, of which the first began, "To supply the domestic market with staple consumer goods and prevent and counteract increases in the prices of these goods, the Council of Ministers is, upon hearing the opinions of experts, empowered to...." In that decree the role of experts was thus explicitly pointed up.

After the war the government had never previously received any special powers, although, truth to say, its political-economic practice for decades has been such that in reality it did exercise such powers continually, manipulating all domains of life. But let us return to the year 1988.

One deputy voiced the wish that the Council of Ministers would present in January 1988 a list of reform measures that would, *ex post facto* as it were, justify granting special powers to it. But, he asked, what happens if such a list could not be presented then?

In his turn, Prime Minister Messner declared in the Sejm that "the reform has supporters and kibitzers but it has not yet gained its own broad 'lobby' with a real economic clout."

One could ask, what happens if it does not gain that lobby?—without detracting from the good intentions of the government, and on wishing it the best of everything.

What would happen then? An extension of the special powers? A change of government? A new stage of the reform?

Any of these choices would signify another defeat of the reformers. Thus, the great risk should be anchored in some strong underpinning. What room for maneuver is there for a government endowed with special powers?

The view that most problems could and should be resolved without having to resort to special powers has to be agreed with. This concerns, e.g., breaking up monopolies [of production by single enterprises], shutting down enterprises operating at a loss, and abandoning mistaken investment projects—in a word, changing the economy's structure. This should be the paramount goal under the umbrella of special powers.

If it is true, though, that all this could not be accomplished owing to the existence of strong—and objectively or subjectively anti-reform—pressure groups, then these groups are as a rule positioned so high up that the special powers would have to be used not against rank-and-file factory managers but against their superiors [in the parent agencies].

If it also is true that the mentality of the public does not keep abreast of the reforms ([owing to] wage pressures, low productivity, insufficient personal initiative, mistrust of the reforming authorities), then the special powers would be the least likely way of changing that mentality.

The government should, therefore, principally strive toward restructuring the economy. It will not accomplish this in half a year, but at least it could prepare the soil to make up for the several years long lag. Here the response of the minister of finance will be important: will he avail

himself of this opportunity to strengthen fiscal policy, or, too, will he create the foundations for a far-reaching financial and monetary policy?

Thus, those who warn the government against the temptation of aiming at some spectacular short-run benefits instead of working on longrange programs are in the right.

To conclude the economic motif, let us recall an economist's comment, "Special powers are a necessary evil which is to strengthen the reform, not the government." From this ensues, however, the conclusion that it would be better if no evil were to be introduced even if it is termed necessary.

Has there existed a scenario that would have permitted avoiding this necessary evil? In this place it would be proper to consider in its entirety Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz's comment from the interview he had granted a week ago ("Political Economy," PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY, No 20, 1988), a comment that reduces to the conclusion that the recent events [the rash of strikes and strike alerts triggered by urban transit employees in Bydgoszcz last spring] once more point to the need to accomplish substantive political and social reforms, which are indispensable to economic reforms, if only because the economy is not an autonomous domain in the life of states and nations. Thus, reliance should be placed on those social groups which, owing to their very nature or in their interest, desire reforms; to this end, ideological-political sentiments, myths, and preconceptions have to be abandoned. A good harbinger is, for example, Deputy Prime Minister Sadowski's comment to the BBC that, on matters that are vital to the state and the economy, he is ready to talk with whoever is willing. Another ground for optimism may be that the scholars (including economists) serving as advisers to various social groups and structures, are beginning to meet and exchange views.

Poland has lived through days of unrest. The strikes have died down and the government has the special powers. But even the least note of crowing pointing to [the government's] inability to infer conclusions would be most dangerous. Yet, this inability is a pernicious trait of any politician [as published].

Here two reservations should be made. First, political reforms are indispensable on their own, for they are owed to the society and should not be treated solely as a master key to the economy. Second, political reforms of themselves do not avert the economic frustrations of the public but merely help relieve them and resolve conflicts.

For if the recent days prove anything, it is above all that in Poland there still does not exist a fully efficient mechanism for an objective reconciliation of reciprocal interests and for dialogue and discussions.

PZPR CC Ideological Publications Listed, Tasks Note²

26000437 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish
No 9, 4 May 88 p 14

[Article by Janusz Janicki, deputy director, Ideology Department, PZPR Central Committee]

[Text] The publications of the Ideological Department of the PZPR Central Committee are intended mainly for the needs of the party, but they are also used in broadly conceived ideological work by units of the ideological front.

Through the department's efforts, nine party magazines and non-periodical publications with a variety of thematic profiles are published and intended for various recipients.

FAKTY I KOMMENTARZE has been published since 1980 (as a weekly since 1986) and is designed mainly for primary party organizations [POP] and POP secretaries. It contains, in a synthesized and easy to understand form, commentary on the most important socio-political events and occurrences, as well as basic party documents with which all party members should be familiar (i.e., the PZPR platform, resolutions of the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, the plan for executing these resolutions, etc.) Its columns also contain material designed for POP training needs and for the Rural Active Members Schools. The weekly "Poster Gazette" also appears in FAKTY I KOMMENTARZE.

The weekly ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIAŁY (published since 1949) is intended mainly for active party members. It offers more thorough interpretation of the issues that elicit lively public interest and that also have major importance in a given period.

The monthly IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA (published since 1970) deals with the issues of scientific socialism, the party's ideological activity and party training. It raises theoretical questions in a style intelligible to a broader group of recipients and includes materials for specialized forms of training, mainly the Ideological Training Groups and Ideological Seminars.

The monthly SUGESTIE (published since 1970) is devoted to issues of ideological and educational activity, with particular emphasis on guidance in the field of visual propaganda.

The monthly PREZENTACJE (published since 1978) is a collection of reprints from the foreign press that presents numerous ideological and political viewpoints regarding crucial issues of the modern world.

Non-periodical publications also play an important role in intra-party publishing activity. We must mention first of all the series of brochures entitled "Biblioteka Lektor and Wykładowcy." It is designed for people who conduct

training sessions and who are involved in lecturing activity; it serves to assist in proper preparation for these meetings with students. Titles in the series are adapted to current programs of intra-party education and also take into account the most important current events that elicit a particularly resonant public reaction.

Recently, publication of two new brochures series was initiated: "Socjalizm—poszukiwania, perspektywy" and "Materialy, analizy, studia." The publications that make up the first of these series are to reflect inquiries in the field of the theory of scientific socialism and discussions in process in brother parties on theoretical and practical questions in building socialism. The second series—with a limited scope of distribution—contains essays arising from various theoretical and philosophical inspirations which, because of the significance and timeliness of the issues raised, should be known especially to active ideological members. Both publications series were initiated for the purpose of enriching the party's ideological life.

Also published are informational and propaganda brochures suited to the current needs of the party. For example, one might mention training materials for active members dealing with issues of socio-economic reform or publications related to people's council election campaigns. Also published are instructional methods materials for various forms of party education. A separate form of publishing work is the publication of expanded party documents, mainly from party congresses and plenary sessions of the Central Committee.

This overview of intra-party publications shows that we are dealing with a broad range of materials that make possible the satisfaction of various needs related to party ideology and political work, adapted to the interests of numerous groups and perceptive abilities. It should be emphasized that these publications are also used by such social and educational organizations as the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship, the Society for Popularization of Knowledge, the Society for the Promotion of Secular Culture and by youth associations; they also support the education of state and economic personnel and are sought by teachers.

Their essential level is generally well appreciated. Surveys conducted regularly for several years show that the percentage of people giving positive answers to questions regarding opinions on the level and usefulness of intra-party publications is rising. Recently it surpassed 60 percent. The number of publications is similarly evaluated. Usually it is said that "there are enough of them," or "exactly so many are necessary." Similar opinions are expressed by party units.

This does not mean there are no critical comments. They deal with many specific matters and often come up in the context of various assumptions intended to improve the quality of the publications. They are sometimes accused of too little aggressiveness, or simultaneously a tendency toward an overly optimistic assessment of social reality,

without adequate consideration of shortcomings in the party's work or the indecision and doubts pervading active members. It is said that the deliberations on reform, especially the second stage, often overlook reality, while political news has an instructional quality and provides an inadequate level of preparation for working with political methods. Stronger fixation of the issues in socio-economic realities is proposed so as to provide arguments suited to discussions with the people. There are those who demand presentation of different positions and elucidation of the same matter from various points of view. The demand for improving the timeliness of published texts and faster reaction to current events is common.

As far as a preference for specific subjects is concerned, mentioned most often, relatively, is the need to analyze and elucidate various economic issues and ideological aspects of the process of reform of the state and economy. It is proposed that publications devoted to party and state problems and directions for the development of socialist democracy be expanded and diversified. Also noted is the clear demand for topics concerning recent Polish history, especially the so-called blank spots. Readers demand increasing the number of articles dealing with Poland's place in the world and its relationship to the USSR and other socialist countries. There is lively interest in religious policy, the area of relations between the state and church. One might say that the recipients of intra-party publications expect fuller illumination of topics that are current the subject of conversations, discussions and polemics.

As regards the formal side of the publications mentioned (their language, style, etc.), we note another increase in positive appraisals. In recent surveys, conducted at the beginning of this year, 57 percent of those surveyed expressed such an opinion. But it must be emphasized that a significant percentage of readers (recently about 41 percent) have numerous reservations in this regard, criticizing their sloganeering and vague and hermetic nature.

This brief overview of reader opinions shows that in spite of the generally high level of our publishing work, further improvement in its quality, elimination of existing defects and better satisfaction of party needs should be an object of lasting concern for the editorial staffs and publishing groups. The ranking of this work is determined by current party goals related to socio-economic reform. Intra-party publications should effectively disseminate and establish new ideas in the theory and practice of party activity and help it better fulfill its avant garde role in the revitalization of socialism.

Among the most important tasks, one should mention:

—substantiation of published texts, mainly publication of solutions in the second stage of economic reform adopted in practice in enterprises. Against this background, definition of the party's role and goals, as well as

development of journalistic activity devoted to an exchange of experiences in the work of plant organizations;

—analysis of those ideological questions that arise from experience in socio-economic life and arouse particular interest as well as concerns;

—faster reaction to national and international events, improvement of the publishers' informational function, inclusion of political records on a broader scale;

—improvement in arguments, concern for the linguistic correctness of texts, elimination of sloganeering and verbiage, striving for conciseness of phrasing.

Also crucial is an improvement in the organizational side of publishing work, better, more flexible planning of the circulation of publications (especially non-periodical publications) and improvement in the system of distribution of periodicals and brochures. Generally, this system operates efficiently, but it has its weak points, particularly at the point where first degree units meet with direct users of intra-party publications. Because they do not always reach their proper recipients on time and so they cannot be used in accordance with their intent.

The state of readership of socio-political literature also requires improvement. It has interest mainly among some of the active ideological members, especially if it is helpful in preparing lectures or lecture appearances. But in the party there is no common custom of referring to a variety of publications, seeking in them information and explanations of the processes and phenomena of public life. A reader must be won over first by interesting texts, but that is certainly not enough. What is needed is appropriate inspiration and encouragement on the part of party organizations, mainly through appropriate intra-party education tied to self-education.

And so not only editorial staffs and authors' groups can and should bring their contributions to the work of improving intra-party publishing activity—although it depends mainly on them—but party units and organizations as well. This is our mutual affair.

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PZPR Voivodship Plenums Held, Reported

Social Role of Sports Reviewed

26000401 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
19 May 88 p 3

[Article by Jan Rutkowski: "Social and Economic Conditions of Sports"]

[Excerpts] (Bielsko-Biala) The social and economic conditions for the development of physical education and sports in the voivodship were the subject of the PZPR Voivodship Committee plenum.

Much of the deliberation was devoted to mass sports activity and school sports, as a broad base for the development of sports.

Making an exceptionally interesting contribution to the discussion, Stanislaw Olesiak of Brenna spoke about the need for the smallest groups, in particular, to undertake social initiative to support sports. He presented Brenna's complicated financial ups and downs, telling about how a marvelous sports facility had been put up through voluntary effort at half the cost of having it built by a specialized construction firm and about how it had collapsed after it was constructed. The speaker pointed out the fact that some unrealistic financing regulations proved discouraging and very effectively blunted all initiative.

Reform Implementation Slow

26000401 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
19 May 88 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Nogiec: "Reform Still Moving Too Slowly"]

[Text] (Gorzow) At the PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum, there was a discussion of problems related to implementing the economic reform.

People pointed out delays in implementing the reform, the low level of activity of management collectives, and the psychological barriers encountered in people who had become accustomed to carrying out orders.

At the same time they also gave examples of the wise use of economic instruments in many Gorzow Voivodship economic units and of their achieving very good financial results as a result.

Agricultural Profits High

26000401 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
19 May 88 p 3

[Article by Zbigniew Menes: "Best Results in Agriculture"]

[Text] (Kalisz) At the plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, the voivodship's socioeconomic results during the first 4 months of this year were discussed. The favorable effects which industry has achieved were among the things emphasized. Industry has been showing increases in both production and productivity. There has been some improvement in management effectiveness. All these factors are creating the proper foundation for achieving good results for the year as a whole.

Henryk Kostrzewa, secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, emphasized misgivings over the fact that the population's cash income was increasing at a rate that exceeded the targets of the central annual plan (CPR), preventing market stability while encouraging inflation.

The results of Kalisz Voivodship's agricultural production received especially high marks. As proof that the achievements of farmers in this part of Wielkopolska are being recognized, this year Kalisz Voivodship will host the central harvest festival, which will be held in Marszew, located in the parish (gmina) of Pleszew.

POP Role Emphasized

26000401 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
19 May 88 p 3

[Article by Czeslaw Kubasik: "Basic Party Organization Increasingly Active"]

[Text] (Legnica) For the third time during the present term, at its plenary meeting the PZPR voivodship echelon took up the role of the basic party organizations in their own area of activity and assessed the implementation of the resolutions of the Fourth Central Committee Plenum and local resolutions.

The parties to the discussion stated that significant progress had been achieved on many planes of party activity. A decided majority of party organizations periodically assess resolutions and decisions and give an accounting of how tasks have been performed. Greater party efficiency has been noted in resolving the problems bothering workers and their communities.

It was stated during the discussion, however, that too little attention was being given to entrusting party members with tasks in the communities where they live. Party ranks are slowly expanding in rural areas.

In connection with the resolutions of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum, it was said that the Basic Party Organizations were not interested enough in the problems of young people. This statement is proved by the fact that there are too few young people holding management positions or are on reserve management teams.

Brigade System Praised

26000401 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
19 May 88 p 3

[Article by Edward Filipczyk: "Brigade System Speeds Up Job Audit"]

[Text] (Opole) The principle subject of the plenary deliberations of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, the assessment of progress in reviewing organizational structures and certifying jobs, was related to the development of the brigade system of work in industry and construction in the voivodship.

Voivodship Committee Secretary Kazimierz Suchecki referred in his remarks to the past achievements of many Opole Voivodship plants, at the same time pointing out the shortcomings that still exist. The most serious approach to the issues of the job audit and the formation of work brigades is to be found in those enterprises

which achieve the best results, including the Kedzierzyn and Blachownia chemical complexes, the Strzelce Opolskie Cement Plant, and "Frotex" in Prudnik.

The plant party organizations are the most active there too. They are conducting the job audits continuously with the plant management in a well thought out manner. Maria Mosiek, secretary of the plant audit commission at "Azoty" in Kedzierzyn, was one of the people who spoke about this. Stanislaw Dolata, from a branch of the Organization and Planning Society, named three barriers to the audits: a bureaucratic system of book-keeping control, the low level of equipment at job sites, and what is called "equalization," an anti-incentive wage system for white-collar positions.

Zygmunt Siedlecki, deputy governor of Opole Voivodship, mentioned among other things that management in the Voivodship Office had been reduced by 31 percent (70 slots) as the result of audits that had been made.

Personnel Policy Reviewed

26000401 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
19 May 88 p 3

[Article by Wladyslaw Wrzask: "Making Better Use of Personnel"]

[Text] (Pila) The elaboration of a comprehensive, cohesive system and the instruments of personnel policy, bolstered by wisely structured material incentives, should bring about an increase in employee effectiveness, personnel creativity and ingenuity, and therefore improved operating effectiveness, Stanislaw Jasiak, director of the Zlotow state farm, stated at the PZPR Voivodship Committee plenum.

The plenum was devoted to assessing the implementation of the targets of party personnel policy and to the resulting tasks facing the Pila voivodship party organization. The plenary discussion focused on problems related to effective use of the targets of this policy. According to people taking part in the discussion, a great deal of controversy had grown up around this policy, as shown by the real life examples that were cited.

For example, it was stated that alongside the personnel selection system, which was undoubtedly operating well in Pila Voivodship, there was still a great deal to be desired in the creation of jobs and work with reserve staff and the advancement of educated young people.

Agricultural Problems Stressed

26000401 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
19 May 88 p 3

[Article by Paulin Plominski: "Improve Land Use"]

[Text] (Piotrkow Trybunalski) The voivodship echelons of the PZPR and ZSL devoted their joint deliberations on 18 April in Piotrkow Trybunalski to an assessment of the development of agriculture and accelerated work related to land use.

Presenting the position of the voivodship party officials, PZPR Voivodship Committee Secretary Stanislaw Boczek mentioned that Piotrkow Trybunalski has reached the halfway mark in executing the joint food and agriculture resolution which the PZPR and ZSL undertook in 1986.

The speaker and many people entering the discussion after him stated the consistency of past implementation of this resolution, saying that it has produced many beneficial changes in agriculture. This is particularly evident in the good results in crop and livestock production, which have a favorable influence on local food market stability.

At present there is even 22,000 hectares in the State (Agricultural) Land Fund in the voivodship. This is so much that there is no graver problem to resolve in land management. Among other things, Krzysztof Smejda pointed out that resources are needed to work the land, and he mentioned the creation of priorities in terms of the crafts and trades. They should undertake production of building materials for agriculture as soon as possible.

One of the greatest problems for the voivodship and the local population has been a source of dissatisfaction for some time now. It concerns the failure of efforts to make better use of the land in the area of the Belchatow industrial region. It was emphasized that, after all, there was Council of Ministers Resolution 193/82, but land management outlays had not been included in the National Economic Plan. It therefore comes as no surprise that the interested ministries have neglected to follow the resolution's instructions, but there is no justification for the fact that the issues have been resolved too slowly.

Grzegorz Rytych stated: "Alongside our farming problems such as difficulties in obtaining fodder and fertilizers and the fact that pensions are too low, we often face unjustifiably high prices on farm machinery and equipment."

In consideration of these and other suggestions, the resolution taken up at the end of the plenary session emphasized the need first of all to expand storage and processing and to step up work on the rural infrastructure.

Stanislaw Kolasa, First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, and Kazimierz Janik, chairman of the ZSL Voivodship Committee, jointly chaired the deliberations. Jan Glowczyk, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and member of the Politburo, attended the plenum and spoke at the conclusion of the deliberations.

GUS Statistics Prove Fallible

26000401 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
19 May 88 p 3

[Article by Mieczyslaw Kaca: "Gross Statistics Do Not Give a Complete Picture"]

[Text] (Radom) Once a year the voivodship party echelon takes up the problem of economic reform at its

plenary deliberations. Yesterday's plenum, for example, focused on analytical materials based on informational meetings in 179 economic units.

This time the statistical totals were said not to reflect the whole truth. GUS data show, for example, that the figures for the enterprises in Radom Voivodship last year and during the first 4 months of this year are higher (in terms of value) than those projected in the Annual Central Plan targets and higher than the so-called national average.

Closer analysis shows that in industry, however, price increases are involved in 86 percent of this growth. In construction, the figure is 70 percent. The Treasury Chamber confirms this unhealthy trend.

In practical terms, only the Mechanical Equipment Factory in Warka, the Radom Construction Enterprise, and the Asbestos Cement Products Plant in Wierzbica can conduct their business today without bank loans, and 47 percent of the enterprises are in worse financial condition than a year ago. The Walter Metal Plants in Radom falls in the latter group.

Complaints Dominate Session

26000401 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
19 May 88 p 3

[Article by Jan Urbanowicz: "Revealing the Causes of Public Dissatisfaction"]

[Text] (Slupsk) To get to a doctor, the inhabitants of Korzybie have to travel to Barcino, 7 kilometers away, just because the head of the PKP outpatient clinic in Korzybie, referring to higher authority, refuses to let nonrailroad people receive the services of a physician. The case has been dragging on for years, but nobody is strong enough to buck the railroad (PKP). "Should it be this way?" Brygida Dubelt, of Korzybie, asked at the PZPR Voivodship Committee plenum.

"In Postomino parish (gmina), farmers charge that there is poor management at the Agrarian Circles Cooperative (SKR). As a result the PZPR Parish Committee back last year withdrew its political recommendation from the SKR director, but the voivodship authorities have been looking up until now for an applicant to fill the director's post," Kazimierz Lesinski, of Postomino, said.

Delays and formalism in handling residents' complaints are the main source of public dissatisfaction. According to an analysis of the complaints and indications of impropriety which the voivodship echelon has received during the past 15 months, the largest proportion, 44.2 percent, concern housing problems and the municipal economy. There are also a great number of cases of impropriety in rural areas.

It was emphasized in the discussions that the progressing democratization and socialist renewal require that all authorities and institutions make a continuing, careful analysis of the complaints and statements received from the population. In its resolution, the Voivodship Committee charged the basic party organizations with ongoing oversight of the manner in which complaints and comments are handled and of the way the causes of public dissatisfaction are eliminated.

Boguslaw Kedzia, head of the Department of Science, Education, and Scientific-Technical Progress, attended the plenum.

Restructuring Personnel Policy

26000401 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
19 May 88 p 3

[Article by Marek Radtke: "Fine Weather for the Best Ones"]

[Text] (Wlodek) "Conservatism and opportunism within whole groups or individual party members are still a problem in personnel policy. These are the very things that inhibit proper personnel selection, the creation of personnel reserves that are well thought-out and in keeping with the needs of the community, and the promotion of enterprising young people who think in terms of the whole group," Andrzej Gatynski, of Skape, said in a discussion during the PZPR Voivodship Committee plenum.

Among the defects of personnel policy mentioned in the discussion was the still evident tendency to make personnel decisions without first consulting with founding bodies or parent party organizations.

"There are too many people on the management staff who still do not know how to make use of cooperation with plant specialists in employee services, with psychologists and sociologists," said Jan Gogowski, of "Celuloza," and Maria Matusiak, of "Drumet."

It was stated that meanwhile it is the staff members who are determining the success of Polish reforms. It is the way the talents and skills, which are the nation's greatest wealth, are utilized that will determine the rate at which the health of the economy is restored, the state structures are made more efficient, and the society's living conditions are improved.

A personnel policy that is properly conducted by the party is of far greater significance in this situation. This means that in their daily work the party echelons and organizations must not only keep up with the spirit of the times, but also, above all, set the tone for the transitions taking place in the various parts of the community.

In this day of economic reform, the resolutions of the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum call for our becoming associated with criteria such as effectiveness, stewardship, and rationalism. It is the party's daily work with cadres in every position to promote an active personnel policy.

Jerzy Swiderski, head of the PZPR Central Committee's Department of Personnel Policy, attended the plenum.

Comments on Other Sessions

26000401 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
19 May 88 p 3

[Article]

[Text] The plenary deliberations of the PZPR voivodship committees in Bydgoszcz, Jelenia Gora, Katowice, Koszalin, Plock, Przemysl, Rzeszow, Szczecin, Tarnobrzeg, Tarnow, Torun, Walbrzych, Zamosc, and Zielona Gora were devoted to party member tasks during the final phase of the campaign for people's council elections and the recommendation of PZPR members to voivodship election groups as candidates to sit on the councils.

Zofia Stepien, member of the PZPR Central Committee's Politburo, attended the plenary deliberations of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Czestochowa.

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Application of Truth Advocated in All Areas, Including History

26000418 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish
No 19, 8 May 88 pp 1, 6, 7

[Article by Andrzej Zakrzewski: "Spheres of Silence"]

[Text presented at Polish-Soviet symposium "From Taboo to Perestroika" (Moscow: 5 April 1988). During the meeting, which was organized by an association of Soviet and Polish film makers, two other papers were presented by Poles: "Blank Spots and the Health of Culture" by Andrzej Werner and "The Color of Blank Spots in Polish Film" by Kazimierz Zorawski.]

[Text] Three subjects have recently predominated in Polish conversation. One is "the second stage" of the economic reform. The second is Soviet "perestroika." The third is the next stage in the discussion of "blank spots." After all, this debate comes as nothing new. It has been going on for years. It becomes especially revitalized during periods when ideals are revalued and during political upheavals, which—this is how it happens in our country now—help expand the field of research and the reinterpretation of assessments. This is accompanied by a greater interest in history. Later these debates die out, but more often they are put out. A thing that is characteristic of us historians, as is well known, is that the list of "spheres of silence"—officially codified—is expanded or reduced, according to the political climate. Of course,

this cannot help but have an impact on the development of intellectual life, including that concerning the view of our past, the more distant, the more recent, and particularly the immediate past. The eminent Polish sociologist Stanislaw Ossowski writes: "Any state of restriction on free utterances in science is a state of conflict, and to compromise in this matter is to relinquish the social role of the scholar. A scholar employee without freedom of speech becomes one of the following: a bureaucrat, a player in the game, or a conspirator." I do not think he is going to feel better in any of the roles thrust upon him. This cannot fail to have an impact on the condition of the researcher delving into the past nor on the results of his investigations. This applies in the same measure to those who present the past or the present on the screen.

Many people think that Polish society is characterized by a special "sensitivity to history," the roots of which lie in the years of national slavery and the past war. They say that it is the very awareness of a shared past that gives us an identity and sets us apart from others, and that permitted Poles at the time to endure and wage a struggle for the existence of a nation that was threatened, even in the biological sense, and to rebuild the country. But we also need this awareness today. Here and there. Always. The great medievalist Tadeusz Manteuffel writes: "It is probably true that just as you cannot develop a country whose economy is ailing, so too a society which has turned its back on its own history and cut itself off from it runs the risk of dwindling and is in danger of cultural vegetation."

Others, among them historians and even more often sociologists, speak about "departing from history." This is supposed to apply to the younger generation, in particular, but they consider the causes of this phenomenon—let us say right off that this is not "the Polish norm," but a process on a far broader scale—to be the "technicalization" of our life and, perhaps even especially, its "ideologization," hence the instrumental treatment of the past, using it for current and immediate political purposes. This has nothing in common with science, but it does science and its prestige harm which is later difficult to undo. Speaking about "the sciences flowing from history," politicians utilize the work of people investigating the past in a selective and arbitrary way. Note how rarely they call on historians to join a group of experts. They prefer economists, and we all know the results. Tadeusz Lepkowski, an expert on the Polish 19th century and the Third World, said recently in a discussion held around the table at the ODRA editorial office: "Historians, on the other hand, are considered at most to be experts on buttons when someone is doing a historical film." It never occurs to anyone that a historian could be an expert and authority on understanding and explaining processes which the researcher F. Braudelem calls "long-lasting."

How often, especially in applied history, that is, the large-scale propaganda sort, slogans and props take the place of complicated processes and complex events, and

people are replaced with "paper monuments." Everything is clear and unequivocal. In some people, this situation gives rise to distaste, and in others, opposition expressed more or less loudly, sometimes, even on the walls, where you find dates and events not to be found in school history textbooks, but a fence is not the best place for education, and that goes for education about history too.

This instrumentalization, which, as has already sometimes happened, touches on the abuse of science, the ideologization of a picture of the past and the state of the restrictions mentioned above increase the "spheres of tensions" that exist in society, because some people think that a problem that is not spoken or written about does not exist, but things are not that way at all. Just the opposite. The problem only begins to live, with a double. There remains a realm of history that operates in the common mind in a mythologized form, and this is the rule. It is also a "blank spot."

Some people talk about it with the family at home, which is the first place people learn about history, usually the most recent, the "remembered past," which is not so much knowledge as tradition. Tradition after all is not free of myths and stereotypes either, because it is seen from "low altitude," most often by a member of the rank and file, less often by a general. This cannot fail to have an impact on the level of historical awareness. Others go to various sorts of books, including nonofficial sources, which are not free of schematized concepts either but have a composition of black and white colors that is different from the official sources. Both the former and the latter often lack pallets with a wide assortment of colors, which should be used by a researcher reconstructing the past and a person reading his work. Still others—we have already discussed them—simply "run away from history."

I admit not being fond of the term "blank spots," because what are these "blank spots" that people are writing about just about every day now, discussing them at scientific meetings, at the highest levels of officialdom, and at sessions of the Sejm, as well as on the street car, in line in the market, and at home?

According to some people, the term comes from cartography. Are the "blank spots" in history undiscovered territory? For whom? According to others they are the excerpts about certain events, dates, and people that the censors cut out of texts. Today in Poland after all these stricken parts are usually framed in ordinary parentheses or square brackets with a string of dots or the corresponding references to articles in the *DZIENNIK USTAW*, according to the publishers' taste. Up until now people have spoken more frequently about "spheres of silence," or sometimes more gently about "sensitive problems" or "difficult matters," but most often about "taboo subjects."

"Taboo" reached us 200 years ago from far away Polynesia. "There are taboos that are 'sacred,' which should be venerated, and there are taboos that are 'cursed,' which must be observed, so they do no harm," according to the main sentence under the term in the Polish encyclopedia. The Germans deal with the topic summarily, stating that they are "untouchable" and "invulnerable." The English think that a "taboo" is a general agreement not to discuss a certain subject. The Soviet encyclopedists have given it a different nuance. They say that the word "taboo" describes a "prohibition from religion, belief, superstition, or the prohibition of censorship ..." Americans think that a "taboo" is "any limitation or prohibition based on custom or social convention." "That area is taboo; it is full of unexploded missiles," they say. Then we come to the French Larousse. Its definition comes the closest to my own. "Taboo" means "a thing or person about whom it is practically impossible to make any sort of criticism."

Thus a "taboo" is "untouchable," "prohibited," "dangerous." People do not talk about it. People do not write about it. Although people know about it, that it exists and that you must not talk or write about it, but somehow the term "blank spots" has found its way into social "circulation," even into the political dictionary, so let us keep it.

"Blank spots" sweep across a wide realm of history. They apply to "great policy" and the level of the street, the behavior of leaders, and the actions of the masses. They apply to historiography, but also to historiosophy, to applied history and therefore to propaganda and also to tradition, and they apply to school textbooks as well, because after all it is primarily such textbooks that shape historical awareness, and they are not free of various sorts of "spots" either. "Blank spots" are the result of silence and insinuation, of not revealing facts, and also of scientifically dishonest or irresponsible interpretation. We know "what was," but it is harder for us to say "how it was," and still harder to say "why it was like that." Here it is a question, after all, of a sort of "vicious circle." Until all the facts are revealed, the interpretations of a given event will be incomplete, distorted, or completely false.

Who creates these "blank spots"? Just politicians? Or only the machinery of officialdom in the broad sense, those who govern and those who exercise "government of souls"? which means the secretary, chaplain, and censor? Surely they are interested in giving the blank spots priority, but what about us historians? Do we not have any role in this? What about our own blank spots, those of the historian's craft: intellectual sloth and political opportunism, the courtly attitudes and Aesopian language we use? When was it that a historian wanted to and when that he had to? The acting and relinquishing, passive lying and active lying, that is, ordinary falsehood concerning fact and still more frequently the interpretation of facts, self-censorship, and the escape to "areas of

phenomena" showing "the external form," without content or essence. The euphemisms which in some readers evoke only laughter, although it is far from indulgence, and in others, distrust, resistance, and opposition. Then there is historical projection. How often has it been that certain people and events from long ago, but more frequently those from the more recent past of Poland and Poles, have been presented from the position of a "malevolent foreigner," as somebody once put it.

The historian works here and there, and he is not closed up in an ivory tower, so he is sometimes subject to various pressures, some from above, as I have already mentioned, and some also from below. Today is difficult and confusing. Hence there is history, whether we want it or not. There is also something on the order of a remedy for the modern world's nervousness and the aches and pains of our everyday life. People weighed down with care seek compensation. Chockablock with shortages, the market is thirsty for success. Even from the past. The public is waiting for victory. They do not remember today that it was once bought with great losses. Criticism over the present is accompanied by an uncritical view of the past, especially that distant past which is cold, no longer remembered, and this is how a myth is born. It also is a special sort of "blank spot," not in the study of history but in the historical mind.

This is because history, very distant history, seems beautiful to many people. It eases and heals the frustrations, but then, like any medicine, it should be administered in keeping with the contemporary state of knowledge ("lege artis"). Otherwise, either through megalomania or through an excess of criticism, these states will become still deeper. How many stand as kibitzers at a game or demand that the historian act in the role of television reporter? We were not the ones to commit the foul. We have been done an injustice, and it is the fault of others' cunning that we lost. We write about Germanization and Russification in the age of national bondage, but how reluctant the reader is to take in these facts, which point out, for example, that the systems thirsty for conquest could exist—they could not function any other way—through the very considerable support of our fellow countrymen, from the gate keeper and caretaker to the official. Or take another example from the "era of the furnaces." The actions of the "prominent people in the camps," that is, the people in the camps serving the Nazis in the camps in positions from block warden to "capo." Many of them were worse than the professional torturers. We need to talk about them too, because otherwise "blank spots" will occur here too. "No, I don't want history that is a Band-aid on the painful, festering national frustrations," said Witold Kula, the excellent specialist in economic history who died recently. And he emphasized: "I want the history of a great interpreter."

The decision to reveal the "blank spots," or rather the attempt to eliminate them, is a political one. It was undertaken at the top levels of the power establishment,

and it started—its anniversary is just now—with the talk between Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski. "We see in this the possibility for a full bilateral disclosure of Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations, in which alongside the glorious cards of cooperation between our peoples and states there were also dramatic moments, the mutual imposition of wrong and injustice," said the Poles who are investigating the past, all members of the Polish Historical Society, which has several 1,000 scholars, teachers, and lovers of history within its ranks.

It is a good thing that we have given up "sleep therapy," as some have recommended, and the overuse of "strong arguments" concerning reasons of state, along with allied and external conditions. The example of the French and Germans and still more the example of Israel and the FRG, about whose brutal and dirty past just about everything has already been said, confirms the fact that explaining the sometimes beautiful, sometimes tragic moments of shared history bolsters the condition of mutual contacts. This is also proved by the contacts which the Poles have had with the Germans and the Russians, the least official being the more cordial. And the Soviet scientist Yuri Afanasev is correct in stating: "I would not be able to name any problem in the history of our Polish-Soviet relations from which we ought to escape. Even Katyn, and maybe especially Katyn, is a problem which absolutely must be taken up by Polish and Soviet historians together." Ugly need not mean bad. Families quarrel, neighbors quarrel, but they should not fall into a rage. They should talk to one another. They have to. Partly just because they are neighbors. The "blank spots," however, have spread in more than just the realm of Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations, although today, considering the past silence, the latter have predominated over other things, primarily because of the many centuries we have been neighbors. This has applied not only to the most recent history but also to the very distant centuries, while the 19th century has been the most dramatic century, especially for Poles, inasmuch as these were years of national bondage. Going on, what about Polish-Ukrainian relations? And Polish-Belorussian relations? And Polish-Lithuanian relations? The last named are fortunate, in having had their chronic writers in both poetry and prose, Tadeusz Konwicki and Czeslaw Milosz, as well as famous historians, Juliusz Bardach and Piotr Lossowski. And further, or perhaps above all, Polish-Polish relations, that is, the history of our country, the people and the state. There are many in this area. This is not the time or place to talk about them. I recently took part in a debate on the history of rural areas and peasants, a subject which is especially close to me professionally. At that time I referred to a citation which I quote here: "We have focused on one thing too stubbornly for a long time, it is necessary to fight, become rooted, burn all the way down... We have often fought for the same struggles, as though victory were not important, just the taking part. We have looked for enemies where there none. No matter that there were no more kulaks. We kept right on fighting and getting rid of

them. No matter that, as the result of the struggle for ideological purity, the farm went to the dogs and ceased to be a farm. We fought. No matter that the innocent were also made to answer for it in all severity. After all, better to have some reserve, but we fought just to be sure. No matter that morality was being transformed into vigilance, and that people were learning to be suspicious. Keep your eyes on others. Have no trust. Pass on information gained in confidence. Tattle. Renounce those near and dear. We fought." No, this is not an excerpt from the history of Poland in the 1950's. Too bad. Aleksander Yakovlev of the Soviet Academy of Sciences wrote this passage, which is so similar to our Polish experience of the Stalinist years.

The decision to take up work aimed at reducing the number of "blank spots" is more than just a political decision. It is also a moral one, in two senses of the word. Above all it should bring satisfaction to those to whom injustice was done, but it also cannot help but have an influence on the professional ethics of historians themselves, not the ethics of those of course who "were right" "at every stage," with the correctness of authorities who justify everything, but the ethics of the rest. Access to archives and the elimination of censors' restrictions will let them speak out loud, let us hope, about the issues of their people and their country.

Revealing the truth, historical truth, scientific truth, which is therefore without those "blank spots," is consistent with the attitude of the scholar, the attitude of the citizen. My master, Juliusz Bardach, who writes on the history of Poland and Lithuania, having been born in Odessa, studied in Vilnius, and lectured in Warsaw, often repeated this sentence of Montesquieu's: "Every citizen has the duty to give his life for his country. Nobody has the duty to lie for it."

Speaking the truth, regardless of whether it is "the bitter truth" or the truth that "does our hearts good," is therefore the duty of the historian. The duty of others, therefore, first of all of those who make decisions but also of society, is to insure such a right to the historian, the right to speak the truth, without "blank spots" or "black spots," because this right is above all others the right to practice his vocation, but sovereignty to use one's own historical contribution, the possibility of truthful, open discussion about the fate of one's nation and one's state is one of the inalienable rights of the human individual and the national community, the researchers studying the past and the people at the movies, or, to put it in other words, all of us.

10790

Thoughts on Historiography, Historical 'Revisionism,' Blank Spots

26000361 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in
Polish No 20, 15 May 88 p 4

[Article by Adolf Juzwenko: "Oh! Poor, Poor History!"]

[Text] There have been stormy discussions of late concerning the history of our immediate past. When we read

the press, we rub our eyes. Just about everything is said about "blank spots," except that they are not being filled in by historical facts. There is therefore the slow erosion of interest and optimism among those who thought that in the near future a 20th-century historian was really going to be able to be a historian in People's Poland.

To a certain extent Antoni Czubinski's "Najnowsze dzieje Polski 1914-1983" (Most Recent History of Poland 1914-1983) was sort of a bucket of cold water on the heads of the optimists, even if we take into account the fact that it was sent to press back in August 1984. Ryszard Terlecki wrote about Czubinski's history in his article "Poor History!" published in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, (No 13, 1988). Tomasz Nalecz had reviewed it earlier in POLITYKA (No 9, 1988). It is difficult to explain what led Nalecz to write that Czubinski's book was "an excellent introduction for a broader exchange of views concerning our contemporary history."

Nalecz absolves Czubinski for his silence and distortions concerning the events recently covered by the term "blank spots" in a way typical of a historian: "People who are particularly sensitive should be warned not to judge this precious and valuable synthesis by noting what the author wrote in the sections concerning 23 August 1939, 17 September 1939, 28 October 1942, and 25 April 1943, because before they begin to lament over the problem of not filling in the blank spots in history, despite the declarations made so loudly from all corners, let them first note the date that the manuscript was submitted. The record shows it to be August 1984."

Should a historian really write history the way "somebody" at a given moment tells him to, or write only as much as is permitted at a given moment? Can we call a history book written by an author [censored material] (Law of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Public Appearances, Article 2, Point 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99, 1983 amendment: DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)) "an excellent introduction for a broader exchange of views concerning our contemporary history"?

Especially considering that in the last part of the overwhelmingly critical review Terlecki too formulated an idea similar to Nalecz's, explaining: "I did not write these comments merely because I was sorry to have wasted 1,200 zlotys on historical drivel. It does seem to me, however, that there has been some relaxation during the past few years in the stiff restraints that up until now have restricted publishing in the field of recent history. One can write more and more, sometimes even more than the authors themselves consider possible."

So we have probably nonetheless gotten into the habit—more than once I have been caught myself on this—[censored material] (Law of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Public Appearances, Article 2, Point

6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99, 1983 amendment: DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)). We have gotten into the habit, because this is the way we have been doing history for more than 30 years. Since 1956 historians have been acting a little like the hero in the Jewish story who, after having seen his rabbi, brought all his livestock into his cramped apartment and then, after asking the rabbi's advice, brought in still more animals, rejoicing each time as he told about how his apartment had decidedly more room in it. After October historians could publish texts they previously had not even been allowed to dream about, and they constantly rejoiced over how they could print more and more as the years went by. So, with faith in a better future they themselves limited the field of their investigations, touched up reviews, and weighed the shape of their own books against the current political climate. As Nalecz suggests, however, this climate seems recently to have changed too quickly for Polish publishing, given the rate at which Polish publishing houses have been working. Authors of conformist publications are beginning to be unable to catch up with it.

I think that we can nonetheless still find among them those who prefer not to catch up. They have a rich store of experience and know that sooner or later "changing reality" will return to the so-called norm, and everything will run the old way. They therefore prefer not to take the risk. The publishing market, because of guidance which suits them, is flooded with their books, and the reader had and still has easiest access to these books. Of necessity teachers and professors at all levels must refer their pupils and college students to them.

Czubinski's book is no exception, but the manner of writing about the history of the immediate past as presented by authors of other history textbooks [censored material] (Law of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Public Appearances, Article 2, Point 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99, 1983 amendment: DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)) is similar. One becomes convinced of this once one looks at Jozef Buszko's continually revised "Historia Polski 1864-1948" (History of Poland 1864-1948), or at a curious work entitled "Zarys dziejow ZSRR" (Outline of the History of the USSR), published in 1984 (sent to press in May 1982), edited by Jerzy Ochmanski.

The authors of this last item (Artur Kijas, Jozef Morczy, and Jerzy Ochmanski) break all records in the art of overlooking history in a history textbook. Here are a few examples: The last time they mentioned the name of Tukhachevskii's name was in June 1921, and the names of Yagoda and Yezow did not appear even once. The authors mention Beria only in a chapter on the situation in the USSR after Stalin's death entitled "Restoring Leninist Standards of Party Life." Prior to that, however, they do not indicate how "Leninist standards of party life" had been violated. Let us cite a few example

to show the way Poznan historians write about the 1930's in the USSR. Here they are (I assure you that the context in which they appear is the same):

"The VKP(b) [Bolsheviks] held their 17th congress in January-February of 1934. At the congress, there was a summary of the successes in industrialization, collectivization, and the development of science and education. Evaluating the situation in the USSR, Stalin proclaimed the victory of Leninism (sic!) and the elimination of the remnants of opportunistic groups (...)

"The victory of socialism in the USSR brought to a close the complicated process of the socioeconomic and cultural changes which had been made in less than 20 years in the vast territory of what had previously been Russia. The main components of this process were socialist industrialization, the socialization of agriculture, and the cultural revolution (...)" "For the first time in the history of mankind, socialism was transformed from theory into reality. Practical application taught the truth of many of Marxism-Leninism's generalized and detailed assumptions. The Soviet Union became the country in which the Marxist vision of a new society began to be materialized for the first time in history (...)

"The years 1939-1940 were used in the USSR to strengthen borders. When Poland fell, the Red Army received the order to take over the western territories of Byelorussia and the Ukraine controlled by the Second Republic in 1919-1920 (Author's note: I would like to ask what about them before then?) (...)

"The increasing danger of the outbreak of war carried with it changes in the organization of the Red Army. The level of personnel in the army and navy became double what it had been in 1934."

Broadly speaking, it is hard to understand how the authors of the "Outline of the History of the USSR" managed to dream up something like that. After all, the bibliography included publications translated from the Russian and published after the war by the publishing house of the Ministry of National Defense. They say they read A. Gorbатов's "Lata pokoju i wojny" (Years of Peace and War) (Warsaw, 1966) and A. Nekrich's "1941—22 czerwca" (22 June 1941) (Warsaw, 1967). Gentlemen, did you actually read those books?

It turns out that historians can do a great deal. It all depends on what guides them in their work, what commands they agree to obey, how far their conformism goes, and what sort of fear paralyzes them.

To be fair I have to mention that in 1973 Antoni Czubinski published a little book entitled "Kraj Rad. Lata zmagania i zwyciestw" (Soviet Union: Years of Struggles and Victories). This little book was incomparably better than the book by Ochmanski and his colleagues, but after it appeared it was withdrawn from the book shops. Could it be that in writing his "Most Recent

History of Poland" Czubinski had drawn conclusions from that fact, and that in seeking the causes behind the removal of "Years of Struggles" from the book trade, Ochmanski and his coauthors tried to be completely without blemish?

But no more irony. I think that for historians it would be better to stop considering the limits beyond which they must not go. Let us try in our investigations to reproduce the facts and then reconstruct a picture of the past on the basis of those facts. Let us not make a laughing stock of the profession we practice.

10790

Economic Society Addresses Members, Sympathizers on Rejection
26000427b Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 23, 5 Jun 88 pp 7, 8

[Letter from the Provisional Board of Directors of the Economic Society to charter members and society sympathizers, dated 3 May 1988]

[Text]

Warsaw, 3 May 1988

To: Charter members and society sympathizers

We regret to inform you that our many months of effort to have the society legally registered have failed. We have therefore decided to break off our fruitless talks with the government because we now realize that the conditions will not allow the establishment of a society whose goals, form and principles express the will of its members rather than arbitrary government decisions. We feel that under the existing situation, a continuation of efforts to register the society will only perpetuate the outward appearance that such a society does exist and the impression that the reason for the government's reluctance is nothing more than its reservations toward specific formulations in our charter that are essential in defining its character and role in the social and economic life of our nation.

The Economic Society is not something greatly needed by ourselves, its initiators and future members but also and above all by the national economy which is being tormented by the gravest economic crisis in our postwar history. The society represents a considerable economic and intellectual potential which is the sum of the initiatives, activities and capital of its members and supporters and could be not only a partner for the government but also become a force able to activate new economic initiatives to increase the economic efficiency of small businesses.

Ever since the first initiative was taken to create the Economic Society, our basic goal has been to help create the sort of economic conditions that would provide real

economic freedom and assure legal equality to all enterprises. Our goal was always a free market and economic rules that would give everyone equal rights. It is only the above conditions rather than arbitrary decisions regardless of their motive that would resolve our problems.

The expectations on the Society and its role in social and economic life that were expressed not only by the public but also abroad require not only that we oppose extensive efforts to restrict both our goals and actions to the Warsaw area (to which we agreed only to guarantee the right to membership of people from all over Poland), the elimination from our charter of provisions for conducting economic activity which was not intended to be a source of income but rather a means of financing our charter goals and questioning our right to selectively choosing our members.

The course of efforts to register the society clearly shows that the authorities do not want to see the establishment of an independent, strong and credible organization. No one has disputed the society's goals and on the contrary, the blockade against us has not stopped similar societies, especially those affiliated with state institutions, from being registered. It turns out that in spite of verbal reassurances of support for citizens initiatives, the government is still trying to co-opt them and take over wherever such initiatives may appear. Therefore, there are indeed reasons to see our failure to be allowed to register as a litmus test of the government's real intentions.

We would also like to express our hope that the present impasse will not last forever and that the society will one day be established. The longer this takes, the greater the loss of time and energy that could have been devoted to overcoming the crisis. Our decision does not mean that we will stop our work to prepare the society for eventual action once conditions allow it. We are also presenting a list of selected problems whose resolution we feel is necessary to the economic revitalization of our country and we will try to offer suggestions on how they can be dealt with.

Having stated our position, we wish to thank all charter members and our enormous following of supporters for the help and moral support they have given us. Although our actions have not been successful, we still hope that they were necessary and that they have made an impression on the public.

For the board:
Gabriel Janowski
Andrzej Machalski
Aleksander Paszynski

How It Should Be:

We foresee a Polish economy that is a stable and effective system based on diverse forms of ownership and organization in which all enterprises have equal

rights before the law, free access to means of production and credit and follow the same rules of the economic market. The fulfillment of the following basic conditions will provide us an opportunity to achieve such a model:

1) abolition of the franchise system by introduction of complete freedom for citizens to undertake economic activity;

2) introduction of a free labor market;

3) equalization of the legal and economic situation of Polish and foreign entrepreneurs and the creation of stable and favorable conditions allowing the investment of foreign and domestic capital in Poland;

4) introduction of a stable tax system, above all, one that takes the form of a standardized and universal income tax whose function would be promote and encourage private business initiative, development and investment;

5) abolition of restrictions on the possession and sale of agricultural land;

6) abolition of protective and prohibitive customs and restrictions on the possession of foreign currency;

7) adoption of unconcessioned foreign trade;

8) allowing the free development of private business in all areas of social and economic life;

9) allowing the creation of voluntary economic organizations;

10) an end to propaganda against private business and civilized values such as private ownership and a free market.

12261

Officials Reject Wielkopolska Economic Society Registration

26000431 Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in
Polish No 23, 5 Jun 88 p 5

[Article by Katarzyna Nazarewicz: "Heirs to Father Wawrzyniak"]

[Text] Contrary to what is commonly believed, history does not have a way of repeating itself. After all, it is made by people, including employees of the social administration department of the Voivodship Office in Poznan, who on 6 April 1988 definitively turned down the plan of setting up the "Wielkopolska Economic Association—Union of For-profit Companies."

If history indeed had a way of repeating itself, then the association would materialize and we could talk with a clear conscience about carrying on one of the more resilient Polish economic initiatives. This is what the

operation of the Union of For-profit Cooperatives was in the late 19th-early 20th century. The union's patron, Father Piotr Wawrzyniak, reinforced the Polish banking system in the lands under Prussian administration. On 27 October 1987, Michal Wojtczak, the 32-year-old director of the Poznan company "Snow," whose grandmother Salomea's maiden name was Wawrzyniak, invited representatives of all Wielkopolska companies to Wysogotowo in the vicinity of Poznan.

They sat down on Dominican chairs borrowed from the church in order to—as they resolved—reactivate the association from almost 100 years ago, though with a quite modern charter. They decided to use the good tradition of this area in order for their existence not to appall any longer the officials who do not know how to treat companies popping up like mushrooms after a rain—this is what all of them stressed in unison.

Says Michal Wojtczak: "It is very difficult for us to deal with administrative offices. Their employees do not know whether our status is that of natural persons or whether they should treat us as enterprises. The ambiguity of regulations only exacerbates the frustration of officials. At present, three things follow from the fact of registration for a company: its own seal, its right to fight over every trifle and dual taxation. We fight for everything. Here is a simple example. We are involved in design and promotion, mainly of the so-called small structures and buildings. Therefore, we operate under three different and differently minded institutions: the department of culture and art, the voivodship architect and the department of small-scale production and services. Any of them may make a different decision with regard to just one design. Many companies operate in such an environment. This is why we want to work out our social and legal situation."

In November 1987, the organizational committee of the "Wielkopolska Economic Association—Union of For-profit Cooperatives" was formed. The charter was drawn up. It was signed by 64 legal persons, i. e. directors, chairmen or commissioners of companies, and 69 natural persons.

Attorney Jerzy Marcin Majewski, commissioner of the organizational committee, explains: "In the charter, we stress that our goal is primarily to represent and safeguard the economic interests of the members of the association and to carry on the Wielkopolska tradition of efficient management. These are not idle words during the second stage of the [economic] reform. Our operation would be socially useful, all the more so because the number of companies is increasing. At the time director Wojtczak sent out invitations to Wysogotowo, the basic problems of economic existence of companies were not completely solved. In cooperation with the authorities and the administration, the association would outline these problems precisely and would also safeguard adherence to honest merchant ethic. Putting it bluntly,

we would have created something of a social arrangement for self-policing by our members. At present, companies are not always involved in economic operations about which they would like to boast. There are cases when they make a lot only by rehashing invoices. This also facilitates the atmosphere of ill will towards the companies."

The charter sets forth the guidelines for the activities of the new association in detail on 16 typewritten pages. It also includes such initiatives as maintaining the Merchants' Chamber, which is a closed club uniting members of the association and offering information. The last Merchants' Chamber existed in the capital city before World War II.

"The craftsmen have their guild which speaks up for them. Merchants have an association. What do we have?" asked the director of a Poznan company while signing on the list of the founding members of the association.

According to the charter, companies, natural persons and honorary members may belong to "the Wielkopolska Economic Association—Unit of For-profit Companies."

Attorney Majewski argues: "When we were considering the charter, we all agreed on one point: that the union will facilitate the development of companies within the framework of the principles of honest cooperation. I think that this very prospect appalled the officials. As long as every company dabbles in something at its own expense and risk, it is not so dangerous, inasmuch as taxes are paid on time. Turning down the request for registration prevents the integration of companies, of economic creators which, to be sure, turn a good profit and are registered under our law, but for many bureaucrats are still ideologically alien and maybe even hostile."

The founders of the Wielkopolska Economic Association did not want the authorities to be unaware of the plan to set it up. Therefore, they wrote letters to Bronislaw Steplowski, governor of Wroclaw, requesting that he receive the organizational committee, and to Andrzej Wituski, mayor of the city of Poznan. They did not receive a reply.

"Can the authorities ignore a request for a meeting signed by 64 companies and 69 individuals?"—such was the question asked at one of the meetings. "Apparently they can," answered the chairman who was more philosophically disposed.

On 10 December 1987, Jerzy Majewski submitted the charter of the association to the Voivodship Office in Poznan. As the son of an industrialist, who has been hearing stories at home about the family being left in the

1950s with nothing but a mattress and a piano hidden by compassionate neighbors from the bailiff, he personally is incurably inclined to facilitate economic initiatives.

By 8 February, the office was still as silent as a grave. A day later, it postponed the date of registering the association until 31 March due to, as the explanation went, the need for consultations between ministries. On 3 March, after almost 3 months of pondering the charter, Director of the Social Administration Department of the Voivodship Office Andrzej Chwilecki brought to the attention of the commissioner for the organizational committee proposals for changes in this document, making the registration of the association contingent on accepting them.

Director Chwilecki called into question the possibility of legal persons belonging to the association, which boiled down to a situation whereby the Union of For-profit Companies would have to exist without... companies. He also took exception to the "elitist nature" of the association and to, as he put it, its "profit-making nature." He also indicated that it was necessary to restrict the area of operations to Poznan voivodship alone and, consequently, change the name to the "Poznan Economic Association."

"In our reply, we wrote that our charter was written on the basis of the law on associations, article 42 of which specifies explicitly that 'unions of associations or legal persons may be formed... etc.,' and depriving us of the right to grant membership to a legal person not only contravenes the law, but also takes away the identity of the association," argues attorney Majewski. "On top of this, there was not a word in our charter about the profit-making character of the association. There was no mention of working out profit to be distributed among members. If there was a provision on separate economic operations, this was to be only for the purposes related to the association itself, as is the case in many Polish associations. Could the mistake be due to our suggestive name? Likewise, I do not understand at all why they would want to restrict our activities to Poznan voivodship, which destroys the regional, Wielkopolska character of the association and deprives many of those willing to join of this right."

After this letter, the office fell silent again. However, the so-called "voices of the townsfolk" arose. They began to whisper that the association is an "emissary of the episcopate," though only the chairs borrowed for the first meeting belonged to the church. There were also those who imputed "aspirations of an association of compatriots" to the organizers, calling the association "a Prussian bridgehead," possibly (?) because of the original [organization] which operated, out of necessity, on [a territory] administered by [Prussia]. Be that as it may, there was a lot of noise, which never makes officials kindly disposed.

On 29 March, the commissioner for the organizational committee of the "Wielkopolska Economic Association—Union of For-profit Companies" submitted to the Voivodship Office a notification of no consent to the proposed changes in the charter, charging they were "contrary to the law on associations, and its interpretation was erroneous."

After 4 months of deliberation, on 6 April the Social Administration Department of the Voivodship Office in Poznan refused to register to association. In justifying his decision, Benedykt Gajewski referred to, among other things, article 14 of the law on associations. To be sure, he did not quote it, but it is worthwhile to pay attention to it. The article reads: "The authorities will forbid to set up an association by a duly justified decision if its existence cannot be brought to compliance with the law, or may pose a threat to security, peace or public order."

Officials responsible for registration issues also justify their decision by attorney Majewski, the commissioner for the founders, interpreting article 42 of the law on associations improperly when referring to it. "He is trying to apply a specific provision of this article in isolation from general regulations," they argue.

Director Gajewski admits: "We considered the case for a long time, we coordinated our position with the social administration department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Unfortunately, I do not know where their letter is. It was not secret, but I cannot show it, because it is not in the file. It emphasized the need to demand changes in the charter and for the petitioners to meet certain conditions. Thus, our demands completely coincided with these remarks from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. According to the 1932 executive order on associations by the president of the republic, only natural persons may be members of associations, and not legal persons. Besides, the charter suggested that economic operations were a goal of the association. Our condition of restricting the area of operations to Poznan voivodship was also in line with the information from the social administration department that associations of a similar nature are being formed [elsewhere] in the territory of our country, and we wanted to leave the field for actions by them. We do not want to encroach on our neighbor's turf and cause conflicts. I signed under a letter which set certain conditions, and, since they were not accepted, I made a negative determination. The organizational committee may appeal our decision to the Ministry of Internal Affairs."

While the petition was being considered, for 4 months, the commissioner for the organizational committee could not familiarize himself with the records. Says attorney Majewski: "They gave me the records only the day the negative decision was made. The date was being postponed on account of time-consuming and complex

consultations, so I thought that the file would be thick and heavy. Meanwhile, apart from my letters, there were only two short position letters written immediately after the first application."

The position letters which are in the file are unfavorable. On 17 December, the application was reviewed by the Trade Department of the Voivodship Office in Poznan, which took a negative stance, since "the association will not facilitate an improvement in the market situation," because... "it will not perform economic operations." Let us recall that the desire to perform economic operations was charged by the director of the Social Administration Department. On 18 December, the Department of Small-scale Production of the same office also took a negative position, justifying its decision by the fact that "in implementing the second stage of the reform, we will strive to eliminate intermediate echelons in economic operations," which, if taken seriously, should also alarm, say, guilds and crafts chambers.

"I was not shown any letter from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Now we are appealing to an institution which has already taken a negative position once," finishes attorney Majewski.

On 11 April, the founders of the Wielkopolska Economic Association filed an appeal with the minister of internal affairs.

The minister upheld the decision of the subordinate agency, indicating in the justification that legal considerations prevent the registration of this association.

In practice, the law on associations is applied exclusively by offices reporting to the minister of internal affairs. Decisions associated with the interpretation of the law cannot be appealed to the Chief Administrative Court.

9761

Ministry, Arbitration Office on Antimonopoly Measures
26000415c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
10 May 88 p 2

[Text] At the beginning of May 1988, a meeting was held between the representatives of the leadership of the Ministry of Finance, and the State Economic Arbitration Office devoted to discussing the principles of cooperation between both institutions in combatting monopolistic practices. The need for defining the principles of cooperation comes from the fact that the rules of the legislation on combatting monopolistic practices in the national economy assign specific tasks in combatting these practices to both agencies. The successful implementation of these tasks requires the close cooperation of both agencies in the sphere of informing each other

about the employment by economic units of monopolistic practices, using a uniform interpretation of the rules, and familiarizing the work forces of work establishments about the regulations.

9853/12232

'Catholic Collectivism' Tied to Stronger Catholic-Marxist Economic Cooperation
26000435 Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish
No 21, 22 May 88 p 7

[Article by Jerzy Narczynski: "The Catholic and the Building of Socialism"]

[Text] During the extremely interesting discussion evoked by a no less intriguing article by Prof Mieczyslaw Mieszcankowski, so much was said about unknowns of the coming system that it is time to say something about the knowns as well. The point would be the systemic goals that can be achieved if proper means and methods are used. Up to now our road to these goals has been hard and rugged because we saw as a contradiction something that essentially is not a contradiction but merely two aspects of one truth. The dialectic always comes to mind in such a case and compels an appropriate correction.

In wanting to enumerate the factors that most inhibit socio-economic progress and the process of national understanding in Poland, one should above all mention the lack of a cohesive theory of cooperation between Catholics and Marxists in the socialist state. Admittedly, there exists a political alliance by representatives of both sides, but unfortunately it does not reach deep enough into the substance of both doctrines to create, with its help, a common socio-economic front. As a result, it is impossible to release the social energy of Polish Catholics and use it in the building of socialism. Meanwhile, we can observe the clash of two different developmental concepts. One, based on the principle of socialization of the means of production as the best guarantee of social justice, and the other, postulating the freest possible development of private initiative.

These circumstances compel us to wonder if there are not more profound reasons for understanding and cooperation than Polish reasons of state, on which the present alliance of Catholics and Marxists in Poland is based. If we do not do this, there is the danger that reform and democratization of social life, now moving forward, will emphasize the dissimilarity between the allies' economic goals and, it follows, influence unfavorably their political symbiosis.

Considering the painful experiences of 1980-81, when the differences in looking at our road to development reached their peak and produced a serious crisis, today one should look for some remedial measures. They

should prevent the washing away of our systemic principles, and thus insure the dynamic growth of socialized enterprises and lead to fortification of the position of the PZPR, which stands watch over social justice.

Naturally, the wheel of history cannot go backwards and besides, this would be beside the point, since the systemic model of the 1960s or 1970s was not perfect socialism. Indeed, there was a government capable of insuring equality and social justice, but there was no conscious collectivism, crucial to demonstrating the advantages of the socialist system. This arose from the fact that in our society, strongly tied to the Catholic faith, it was impossible to arouse Marxist social consciousness, in which the authorities perceived the only road to conscious collectivism and the sovereignty of the worker. This difficulty still exists today and it is the reason reform is proceeding with such difficulty.

So what should be done, on one hand, to initiate dynamic, rank and file growth of collective structures in the economy, e.g., community cooperative movements, and on the other, to violate neither the Catholic's right to having his own philosophy nor our systemic principles? The only solution is to decide, at first on an experimental scale, on Catholic inspired collectivism, e.g., using the ethical substance and uniting elements of Catholicism.

Thanks to reform, such an experiment is completely feasible today, since the rule of independence and self-financing for enterprises is already binding, making it possible to make proper use of the citizen's drive and initiative. In addition, a law that will make it considerably easier to conduct economic activity will soon be effective. One can assume that private, Polonia, even foreign entrepreneurs will make extensive use of it, supplying needed articles to the market, but removing the worker's sovereignty. Because a worker in the private sector is a passive tool in the hands of his owner. He has no influence on the destination of earned profit or the plant's growth strategy. So in this case economic progress is accompanied by social regression.

In the spirit of reform, creation of lively socialized competition for emerging, ever-newer private enterprises would be completely [appropriate]. This would certainly lead to improvement in the quality of goods and services and a decrease in their prices, which today is the most important task if we are to restrain inflation.

Whether the collective and regional enterprises existing today, besides a few viable, wealthy ones, will be capable of victorious rivalry with private plants is by no means certain. Experts on reform say that this will be the case but reality, especially overly ambitious wage demands, seem to impair the credibility of such statements. In addition, economic experience so far, although brief and thus not very conclusive, does not give much reason for optimism.

It is not hard to understand why this is happening. Curing the socialist enterprise, based on the noble principle of social justice, requires developmental incentives and mechanisms that are socialist, that stand tall ethically. Meanwhile, we are currently trying to merge capitalist incentives and mechanisms—formed in the process of the ageold struggle for survival and the overdeveloped instinct for possession—with socialist principles, which flow from noble impulses and which are to lead to the elimination of social conflicts and contrasts.

Of course, it would be a mistake to abandon the new economic policy today because it is proving out in many large, wealthy plants and in some small ones, and this already means progress. But one must realize that under conditions of equal rights for the sectors and free competition, private enterprises will gradually absorb the overwhelming majority of small and medium state and cooperative plants since material incentives have a much stronger impact in them than in the case of socialized structures.

This is determined by the fact that their owners always have the opportunity to get rich faster than if they worked in the socialized economy. So in striving for maximum profits, they are constantly developing their plans and improving their economic efficiency, which always assures victory in competition with enterprises struggling with organizational or personnel problems. In addition, they are likely to buy up the best managers, engineers and other experts by offering them very high salaries.

In wanting to reverse the direction of this process and thereby lead to gradual absorption of the private sector by the cooperative movement, it would be necessary, in the development of the latter, to use incentives and rules that guarantee dynamism and high efficiency for the group operation. The point is common ownership of the means of production and the principle of concern for others, e.g., unselfish motivation for operation.

By satisfying these conditions, it is possible to create an enterprise, and later an entire complex of enterprises and a cooperative section, that is exemplary in every respect. Because unselfish motivation applied to group operations permits surpassing the results offered by reliance on the system of material incentives in private enterprise. In addition, economic progress is then accompanied by ever greater integration and an ever higher degree of social organization. Of course, in recruiting people for such an initiative, it is necessary to carry out an ethical selection, so that every employee would be capable of placing the interests of others on an equal footing with his own interests.

Applying unselfish motivation in collective action always has a positive effect on the whole of public life. First of all, it permits the cooperative members themselves to solve rapidly and effectively problems that are impossible or difficult to resolve for a person waging a

solitary battle for survival. They are: housing questions, problems of good nourishment and relaxation, goods and services, social living matters and various aspects of health care.

Others who can profit from the existence of this initiative are people capable of giving of themselves, but unappreciated or deprecated by those around them. Each of them has a chance to join in the collective work immediately, regardless of whether he is enterprising or good only as a performer, whether or not he has a diploma, whether or not he has any kind of resources. For every person there is a job that suits his capabilities, because cooperative members keep creating new means of production for this purpose. In this way the initiative of a few individuals makes the self-realization of all members of the community possible and has a very positive social effect.

The consumer also has numerous reasons for satisfaction with this initiative, since the principle of concern for others, applied to economic activity, bears fruit in the form of an abundance of products that are as fresh and wholesome as possible, chemically pure, durable, functional and cheap. Besides this, it means pleasant, courteous service and good work in every respect. In order to fulfill this goal, the cooperative members work as productively as possible, save materials and energy, organize their work well and do not let shortages pass. The consumer always reacts to these manifestations of concern by choosing the cooperative's products over others. And this means constantly increasing receipts and ever higher profit for the enterprise.

So even though profit is not the goal of cooperative members by any means, it will always be an inevitable consequence of their human nature, their actual attitude toward others.

It is worth remembering that the principle of concern for others, the principle of love, is the main principle of Christianity, so there are bases for believing that Catholics would give a good account of themselves in cooperative movements of the collective type. Indeed, the average Catholic rarely adheres to this principle today, but this situation would certainly be subject to change if he were offered conditions and an environment where this principle would be constructive, would lead to socio-economic growth and comprehensive development of the individual. Surely there would be no shortage of the pioneers needed to set this initiative in motion, because many Poles feel the desire to work for others, for the country, and so would react immediately to the challenge to undertake it.

One can assume that these pioneers would set as their first task the management of hundreds of thousands of hectares of cultivated land lying fallow today in eastern Poland. They have still not been forested, so it is possible

to begin establishing stock farms, horticultural and orchard operations, to erect building materials factories and build small power plants.

The most important question remains to be analyzed: how would the development of Catholic collectivism affect relations between Catholics and socialist authorities? There exists the possibility that an ardent Christian democrat might use such an initiative to strengthen his political position, that is, to weaken popular authority. But it is doubtful that he would take advantage of this possibility because the Christian Democratic concept of the economy is based on private ownership of the means of production, to collectivism is foreign to it.

But one should not forget that besides the Christian Democratic current, another current exists in Catholicism, with a much longer tradition, one that reaches back to the beginnings of Christianity. Several times in past centuries, the church has been indebted to it for renewal and the rediscovery of its mission of love and peace. It is evangelical radicalism. In its present form, adapted not only to the requirements of the present day but also to conditions prevailing in the socialist state, this philosophy leads to an attitude on the part of a Catholic that constitutes an ideal supplement to the attitude of the ideological Marxist.

This stems from the affection, common to both sides, for justice in the most general sense of the word, hence social justice as well. Yet a Catholic with such an attitude will not aspire to wield power on his own, having been strongly sensitized to the rules of his ethics, which require influence through love. He is simply afraid that he would not prove himself adequately in the government apparatus which—standing guard over the citizen's security—must make use of power and pressure against all those who are guilty of infringing on justice or who constitute a public threat.

But this attitude by no means signifies keeping one's distance from politics. Its holder will therefore follow political programs intently and will always offer his support to the program of the party that stresses justice, viewed as generally as possible. And only a Marxist-Leninist party can be such a party. So if Catholic collectivism were to become a fact in Poland and could develop in a particular region, only devoted party members, who understand what justice is and who are able to insure it to the extent permitted by the authoritative methods of the state apparatus, would have the opportunity for election to elective government bodies. Catholic cooperative members, on the other hand, would attempt to cultivate justice through their own, grass roots methods, developing collective structures, where there would be no place for social pathology or predatory economic individualism.

It is typical that applying only Catholic or only Marxist methods will never produce the results that working together would. Because Catholics will run out of motivation to destroy unjust social structures and to oppose

the concentration of capital in the hands of individuals. As a result, they will be coerced economically by magnates and will have to execute their policies, always contrary to the public interest.

On the other hand, Marxists, if they were to act separately, will lack the adhesive capable of united isolated individuals and social cells into one harmonious whole. Because the principle of love and the ethics associated with it, are necessary for this, and Marxist ethics, growing out of the principle of justice and postulating class struggle, will not provide sufficient motivation in this instance.

In wanting to create a society without conflict, it would therefore be necessary to work together, if Marxist work from the top and Catholic grass roots work complement each other so well. A natural alliance, based on the complementary qualities of both doctrines, will prove itself under all conditions and lead to the triumph of justice.

It is worth noting that this new form of alliance would not conflict with cultivation of the form of the present, e.g., the contribution of a certain number of Catholics to government bodies. It would merely make possible broader cooperation by both sides because even the contribution of a large number of Catholics to the development of the collective movement would not jeopardize our systemic principles.

The model that emerges from the foregoing discussion would be called communal by a Catholic, while a Marxist would no doubt prefer to use a different, synonymous Latinate term. This model has been described accurately enough in Marxist literature that to characterize it further would be pointless. One need merely add that Catholics and their principle of love would play an important role in implementing it. And that it would be built from the bottom up, but in a climate of justice created from above by the socialist authorities.

12776

Government Seminar for Departing Missionaries
26000415e Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
10 May 88 p 2

[Text] Approximately 2,000 Polish priests and monks are working in missions in various parts of the world. The Office of Religious Affairs, in agreement with the Secretariat of the Polish Episcopate, organized a 5-day seminar for departing missionaries on the subject of the current sociopolitical, economic, and cultural problems of the country. This year's seminar was inaugurated on 9 May by a lecture on the assumptions and goals of the economic reform given by Jerzy Malkowski, secretary of the Council of Ministers Committee for the Implementation of the Economic Reform.

9853/12232

New Adventist Church Authorities
26000420a Wroclaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
7-8 May 88 p 5

[Article: "New Leaders of Church of Adventists"]

[Text] The celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Adventists in Poland continues. The 15th Congress of the Church of Seventh-Day Adventists in Poland was convened in connection with the celebration. At its session devoted to administrative matters the congress summed up the activities of the Church of Seventh-Day Adventists during the past term and elected church officials. Pastor Wladyslaw Polok was elected chairman of the Central Board of the Church of Seventh-Day Adventists, and Pastor Roman Chalupka was elected secretary general.

10790

Press, Personnel Changes, Media Developments, March 1988
26000417a Warsaw *PRASA POLSKA* in Polish
No 5, May 88 pp 55-59

[Unattributed article: "Chronicle"]

[Text]

1 Mar

Teresa Kokocinska was appointed deputy editor in chief of *RODZINA I SZKOLA*.

Andrzej Konieczny was appointed deputy editor in chief of *SPORT*.

Marian Jurek Stopa was appointed editor in chief of *TYGODNIK CHELMSKI*.

Jacek Zegadlo was appointed deputy editor in chief of *SPORT*.

At the "Interpress" Center, during his weekly press conference, Government Press Spokesman Minister Jerzy Urban announced, "Yesterday, 29 February, the Court Martial of the Warsaw Military District, pronounced its verdict on the case of Mariusz Dastych and Tadeusz Podwysocki, two former *RZECZPOSPOLITA* reporters. They were accused of the crime of espionage. It was established that Dastych had been cooperating since 1973 with the American intelligence service, CIA, transmitting to it information on, among other things, the sociopolitical situation in Poland and about persons known to him who could be of interest to that intelligence service, including fellow reporters as well.

Starting at a certain date, he also undertook, jointly with Podwysocki, cooperation of an intelligence-gathering nature with representatives of another Western intelligence service to whom they transmitted information about the sociopolitical and economic situation in Poland and, in return, were rewarded in hard currencies.

The court adjudged Dastych guilty of committing the crime of espionage for foreign intelligence services and sentenced him to the combined punishment of imprisonment for 8 years, loss of civil rights for 6 years, a fine of 300,000 zlotys, and forfeiture of all property.

The court agreed that Podwysocki was unaware that the information he provided was utilized for intelligence purposes and sentenced him, in connection with a reward in hard currencies that he had received from an agent of a Western intelligence service, to imprisonment for 1.5 years, a fine of 200,000 zlotys, prohibition against plying the journalistic profession for 2 years, and reimbursement of the equivalent of the illegally received amount in hard currencies.

In its rationale the court pointed to the great social harm caused by Dastych's actions. Justifying the sentence passed on Podwysocki, the court termed his action frivolous. At the same time it opined that he acted out of a profit motive, because he received a reward in hard currencies for the information he had transmitted.

At the same time also, the court stressed that this was tendentious information which distorted the real picture of the situation in Poland; hence the exclusion of Podwysocki from the journalistic profession owing to precisely his proneness to distort truth.

This sentence is not legal and the procurature intends in this connection to apply for a retrial, as I was told." (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 2 February 1988.)

3 Mar

At the Warsaw House of Soviet Science and Culture, on the initiative of the SD PRL [Journalists' Union, Polish People's Republic] "Friendship" Club, was held a discussion on Mikhail Gorbachev's book, "Perestroika and New Thinking." Polish and Soviet journalists took part in the discussion. (WD)

5 Mar

The "Ursynat" Station, improvised in the clubroom of the Imielin Housing Project in Warsaw, beamed Poland's first community television program. Participating in it were the authors and executors of the idea: representative of the Ursyn-Natolin Socio-Cultural Society and the Swedish company Porion AB. The broadcast was directed by Edyta Wojtczak and Editor Andrzej Ibis Wroblewski.

7 Mar

At the Warsaw House of the Journalist the SD PRL National Reportage Club organized a session on "Reportage and Censorship." The club hosted representatives of the leadership of the GUKPiW [Main Office for the Control of the Press, Publications, and Entertainment]: Marian Andrzejewski, Justyn Sobol, Czeslaw Smyczynski, and Zbigniew Falinski. The discussion was initiated by a paper presented by Dr Tadeusz Kowalski of the Institute of Journalism, Warsaw University, on changes in the Polish press system in the 1980s, with special consideration of censorship problems.

9-10 Mar

In Poznan the SD PRL Club of Military-Defense Publicistics organized a session at the Higher Officer School of Armored Troops on contemporary problems of schooling and the military profession.

10 Mar

At the Bydgoszcz House of the Journalist, through the efforts of the new club of amateurs of films in the original version (Russian, German, English), the first showing of a film, the Soviet film "Like Wounded Birds," was arranged. (KO)

11 Mar

At the Warsaw House of the Journalist the SD PRL Political-Social Publicistics Club organized a meeting on "Self-Government as a Component of Political Systems." The club hosted the Chairman of the Sejm's Self-Government Commission, Deputy Stanislaw Kania, and members of the Commission's presidium.

14 Mar

Marek Burczyk was recalled from the post of deputy editor in chief of PANORAMA POLSKA.

Tadeusz Lachowicz was recalled from the post of editor in chief of PANORAMA POLSKA.

15 Mar

Maria Bugaj was appointed deputy editor in chief of PANORAMA POLSKA.

Jerzy Klechta was appointed editor in chief of PANORAMA POLSKA.

At the Warsaw House of the Journalist the SD PRL Economics Club organized a meeting with representatives of the leadership of the ministries of finance and of foreign economic cooperation, as well as with experts, on the topic of "How to Escape the Noose of [Foreign] Indebtedness." We publish elsewhere in this issue the club's position on the issue of indebtedness.

In Warsaw the SD PRL Club for Construction Problems organized a meeting on problems of computer technology in construction. Professor Juliusz Kuligowski of the Polish Academy of Sciences presented a lecture on methodological aspects of research into information systems. The role of computers in construction as exemplified by the operation of information systems at the National Information Center of Construction Industry was discussed. The reporters also familiarized themselves with the coming activities of the Center and the operators of the "Budexpo" Permanent Exhibition in Warsaw.

16 Mar

At the Warsaw House of the Journalist the SD PRL Environmental Protection Club organized a meeting on the project for the construction of the so-called climatic station in Bieszczady, popularized by the television program "The Colorful Vertigo." The meeting was attended by experts from the region and by Editor Janusz Zielonacki.

At the Warsaw House of the Journalist the SD PRL Club of Socio-Legal Publicists organized a meeting with Professor Adam Lopatka, Chief Justice of the PRL Supreme Court, who discussed the directions of the rulings of the Supreme Court.

At the Warsaw House of the Journalist the SD PRL Polish Club of International Publicistics held a meeting on the new information order. The club hosted the UNESCO experts Dr Karol Jakubowicz and Docent Dr Jerzy Mikulowski-Pomorski.

21 Mar

The Egon Erwin Kisch Medal—the highest distinction conferred by the Czechoslovak Journalists' Union—was bestowed on two Polish journalists: Editor Marian Podkowinski, honorary chairman of the Main Board of the SD PRL, and Editor Czeslaw Berenda, former Prague correspondent of Polish Radio and Television, who has recently worked as a Polish diplomat in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

22 Mar

In Warsaw the SD PRL Club of Aviation Publicists organized, jointly with Lot Polish Airlines, a press conference on the volume of hauls by Lot in 1988. The conference, held by the Press Spokesman of Lot Polish Airlines Editor Jerzy Wojdylo, was attended by representatives of the traffic and commercial department of Lot, Marek Sidor and Bohdan Kielak (TM).

At the Warsaw House of the Journalist the SD PRL Polonia Club organized a meeting on "April—National Memory Month," with Division General Pilot Roman Paszkowski, chairman of the Council for Preserving the Memory of Struggle and Martyrdom, and Professor

Kazimierz Kakol, director of the Main Commission for Investigating Hitlerite Crimes. Among other things the falsification of history and of the crimes of fascism during World War II in the FRG was discussed.

23 Mar

At the Warsaw House of the Journalist the SD PRL Club of Trade-Union and Worker Self-Government Publicists held a meeting on the operating conditions of trade-union publications.

24 Mar

The history periodical MOWIA WIEKI celebrated its 30th anniversary. In this connection, a meeting of its editorial team and historians on problems of propagating knowledge of the past was held at the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences.

In Lodz the SD PRL Club of Military-Defense Publicistics organized jointly with the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army a session at the Military Medical Academy in connection with the 30th anniversary of that school.

At the Warsaw House of Soviet Science and Culture was held another meeting of its Press Club, organized jointly with the SD PRL "Friendship" Club of Publicists, on problems of implementing the paramount principle of socialism—to each according to his labor (WD).

25 Mar

Editor Jerzy Turowicz, longtime editor in chief of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, won the Jan Parandowski Award, instituted last year and sponsored by the writer's widow, Irena Parandowska.

29 Mar

At the Warsaw House of the Journalist the SD PRL Club of Foreign Publicists organized a meeting with Deputy Minister Janusz Kaczurba on the subject of current problems of Polish foreign trade and Poland's place in the international division of labor.

At the Warsaw House of the Journalist the SD PRL Polish Club of International Publicistics organized a meeting with Tadeusz W. Mlynczak, who discussed the participation of the Journalists' Union in shaping the foreign policy of the PRL and developing Poland's foreign economic cooperation. The club's guest also reported on the contacts between the Polonia Society and Polonia centers abroad, including the Polonia in the Soviet Union.

31 Mar

At the Warsaw House of the Journalist the SD PRL "Friendship" Club of Publicists organized a meeting with the Press Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs Director Stefan Staniszewski on the subject of Polish foreign policy, relations between the PRL and the USSR and other socialist countries, and the role of the mass media.

1386

Soviet Manager on New Joint Publishing Company Orbita
26000400a Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 22, 29 May 88 p 12

[Interview with Vladimir Kravchenko, general director, Sovetskportkniga, by Marek Arpad Kowalski: "A Company in Orbit"]

[Text]

[Question] You signed for the Soviet side the agreement to establish the Orbita Polish-Soviet Publishing Company. What is it about?

[Answer] This will be a joint venture in the nature of a joint-stock company with the shareholders to be, on your side, the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch RSW [Workers' Publishing Cooperative] and, on ours, the Sovetskportkniga All-Union Publishing and Printing Association under the Goskomizdat, that is, under the USSR State Committee for Publishing, Printing, and Book Industry. The formation of the Orbita stems from longtime and broad cooperation between the RSW and its principal foreign partner, that is, precisely the Goskomizdat.

[Question] That is the official rationale for the agreement. But I have some doubts: a publishing enterprise is supposed to publish books, as its very name indicates. So then, what is the purpose of Orbita? After all, works by Polish authors already are being published in the Soviet Union, and so are works by Soviet authors in Poland. Is not this duplication?

[Answer] No, not duplication but enhancement, in quality as well as in quantity, of the supply to the reading markets of our countries. That is because sometimes both you and we overlook items which merit translating and access to readers. Thus, it will be easier to coordinate actions owing to the proper orientation of each partner in his editorial plans. Now the principal ambition of the shareholders is to augment the variety of book output available on both the Polish and the Soviet markets and at the same time to enter the markets of other countries and thus promote there your and our cultures. That will be easier to do together.

[Question] It is my understanding that Orbita will publish only the works of Soviet and Polish authors.

[Answer] To be sure, they will be chiefly books by Polish and Russian and Soviet writers, both classical and contemporary. For the future, however, we don't preclude

publishing books by authors from other countries in Polish and Russian translations. However, this prospect is too distant to consider in detail now.

[Question] You said, "classical and contemporary" writers. Are the interests of Orbita limited to fine literature alone?

[Answer] But no. Orbita will publish not just fine but also sociopolitical literature, particularly on recent history and actual social problems linked to, say, perestroika, both in your country and ours. The publishing plans include literature for children and youth, popular-scientific and scientific literature, advice books, encyclopedias, dictionaries, and guides. I believe that, for example, a book on Polish cookery would be popular in the Soviet Union and so would be a book on Russian cookery in Poland; this also applies to guides to the USSR and Poland.

[Question] For the time being these are pretty plans serving as a topic for discussing the future prospects of the enterprise, but in practice, how many books titles will be published annually?

[Answer] At first we expect 15-20 titles (perhaps slightly more) of translations into Polish annually, and as many translations into Russian. Thus, as a whole, Orbita will publish about 40 book titles annually during the first or second and third years of its existence. Later, I hope, its catalog will be longer and will not be confined to our two countries and languages. In the future we are to publish books in other languages as well and, as I mentioned, we intend to enter the book markets in other countries.

[Question] How large will be your editions?

[Answer] I would rather not operate with abstract figures, so let me just say that they will be mass editions.

[Question] But you mentioned various literary genres, not all of which are equally popular. Besides, what does "mass edition" mean? Surely there must exist some plan?

[Answer] I don't have any on hand, and so I don't want to mislead you; besides, the details are still under discussion. But if you insist, let me just say that in the Soviet Union a mass edition begins with upward of 200,000 to 300,000 copies. Orbita will publish books for the Soviet market. If I understand right, in Poland 100,000 copies are thought to be a mass edition—and it is in this quantity that books will enter the Polish market. And besides, the size of an edition will indeed depend on the nature and genre of literature..

[Question] Book publishing also means technical and material matters: printing and paper. Who will attend to them?

[Answer] Officially, the company's founders are to provide the paper and printing facilities needed to implement its publishing plans. In practice, this year the Soviet and Polish shareholders are to provide the enterprise with 500 tons of paper each, and next year, 1,000 tons each or altogether 2,000. I understand that last year 105,000 tons of paper were used on book publishing by all the Polish presses taken together. We thus have a standard of comparison for Orbita's output. At any rate, as can be seen, the company will operate on the principle of equality of partners.

[Question] A company needs funds. Will both shareholders make equal financial contributions?

[Answer] Yes, of course. The Orbita Publishing Company has its own operating fund. For this year the Soviet partner has allocated 300,000 rubles for it, and the Polish partner has allocated an equivalent amount in zlotys as reckoned in the current exchange rates of the two currencies, that is, more than 1 billion zlotys. As our publishing output increases, these outlays will increase, by then, I hope, from our own income.

[Question] Will that income be derived from book sales?

[Answer] Yes, but not only from them. Orbita will in the future be able to form manufacturing, service, and trade enterprises in other countries, establish branches and affiliates, and acquire shares in foreign companies. The next few years will tell.

[Question] Where will that entire enterprise be housed and how is its organizational structure conceived?

[Answer] The seat of Orbita will be in Warsaw, with an affiliate in Moscow. The company's operations will be overseen by a seven-member Supervisory Council and their direct management will be exercised by a six-member Board headed by the general director who is at the same time chairman of the board.

[Question] Why is it precisely that the Sovetskportkniga has become the Soviet shareholder in the company? There was probably a substantive reason for this, wasn't there?

[Answer] The All-Union [Soviet Book Exporting] Association Sovetskportkniga handles the publishing of books designed for exports abroad. It includes four main export publishing houses: Progress (sociopolitical literature), Raduga (fine literature), Mir (scientific and technical literature) and Russkiy Yazyk (books on the Russian language), as well as the Mozhaysk Printing Works and the Iskra Revolyutsii Moscow Printing Plant No 7, which also are export-oriented. Thus, as can be seen, the nature of activities of the Sovetskportkniga conforms with the operating principles of the Orbita. It is natural therefore for this institution to become a shareholder in the Polish-Soviet joint venture.

1386

Illegal Student Group Role in Warsaw University Strike

26000408f Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
6 May 88 p 4

[Article by Ewa Malek and Marek Rudnicki]

[Text] Attitudes were mixed in the crowd milling around the gates of Warsaw University on Krakowskie Przedmiescie on Wednesday. The majority of them did not know what to think about what was taking place at the university. There were a few supporters. One woman said to her adult son, "Tomorrow a sleeping bag and a thermos." Opponents were there also: "Good Lord! Not again," an elderly woman exclaimed loudly.

On Wednesday, a public meeting took place at the university. Preparations lasted approximately one week. In the leaflets publicizing the so-called spectacle, the Warsaw University Underground Independent Students Association obligated itself to undertake protest activities for the strike and announced the immediate implementation of strike actions. Those present at the mass meeting were to make a decision on a 1-day student sit-in strike. There were those who indicated that there was not much to decide on since everyone knew that a strike would take place.

So that there is no misunderstanding, this is not related to the mass meeting which took place at the initiative of the KPN Confederation for an Independent Poland a day earlier on Tuesday in commemoration of 3 May. This concerns the following day—Wednesday. As if mass meetings could displace traditional picnics?

Yet there is much of the picnic in what is happening. The weather is not bad and there is not much to do. Therefore, everyone sits on benches and chats. Eventually, someone starts to play the guitar, or reads leaflets and banners.

They are different. In some the students demand that restraints be lifted, although they do not specify which ones. In others they announce "Down with Yalta," not elaborating on this whatsoever. Therefore it would be difficult to feel solidarity for the Gdansk Shipyard since it would be outside the border. There are banners such as "We are the ATK [Academy of Catholic Theology], or AWF [Academy of Physical Education]," which means that guests have arrived at the university. There are expressions of support from Lelewel, but one must assume that this does not concern Joachim directly but rather a secondary school bearing his name.

On the big Warsaw University campus it was crowded, and it was difficult to push one's way to the front and all the more so to note it down accurately. This includes information from strikes at the Gdansk Shipyard and Gdansk University.

The NZS [Independent Association of University Students] posted six proposals on the university gates on Wednesday. Everyone could read the following: we demand 1) the implementation of pluralism which includes the legalization of NZS and Solidarity; 2) releasing all political prisoners; 3) eliminating government monopoly on mass transportation; 4) cease interference and restrictions on self-government and autonomy for colleges through changes in higher education regulations; 5) increase grants for universities; 6) raise the basis for calculating scholarships up to 20,000 zlotys and increase education grants by 50 percent.

Apparently, the most important proposals for the university are not found in the forefront.

There are, however, many more interesting pieces of information concerning students' attitudes. As a result, last Friday the organizers of the strike action agreed to deputy rector Prof Andrzej Tymowski's demands to remove the banners from the gates. But they failed to do so. They only removed them after the deputy rector began to pull them down himself with the aid of a cane. Therefore, the university rector decided that all those entering university grounds on Wednesday and Thursday would be checked. Already on Wednesday, the students removed the official guards and took their places. Thus, when someone from outside the university comes, for example, to see the rector he receives a 2-guard escort which waits and then escorts him back. Western journalists do not receive a guard, rather an escort and they can go wherever they please with the escort. In order to end these games, the rector agreed to a small group of strike organizers remaining on the university campus from Tuesday evening to Wednesday. From all accounts there were 150. Since it was too crowded in the self-government lodgings, they apparently broke into the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] office and occupied the conference hall.

Behind the gates of Warsaw University, named after Pilsudski and adorned with flowers and banners announcing that NZS supports the striking workers, are students demanding democracy. As was noted, many observers gathered and opinions were varied; however, if one is to believe the strike newspaper on the wall, Warsaw residents contributed over 200,000 zlotys to the students fund opened during the day. For some this is not a small sum while for others it does not represent much.

Even if they wanted to, the students would not occupy the university since they have no reason to do so. The disorganization plaguing academic life is so prevalent that university studies cannot continue under such conditions. Five Warsaw University faculties located around the large courtyard are not functioning. Banners such as "NZS Geology," and "NZS Management," (the first is located near Zwirka and Wigura streets, and the second on Ursynowo) seem to announce that the situation is viewed in a similar manner when seen from

beyond Krakowskie Przedmiescie. However, Prof Marek Wierzbowski, dean of students told us that the remaining 13 faculties located outside the university campus are functioning.

Differences in opinion are evident at every step, even on the other side of the street. The Journalism and Political Sciences Faculty, known for many years as "red" this time manifested its distinct characteristics. A declaration appeared that read "We do not want a strike" on one of its buildings, the journalism building just one day before the strike and several hours following the mass meeting.

Next to it an appeal by the (student) WDiNP party organization section appeared in which the signatories are turning to the entire Warsaw University student body to maintain peace, responsibilities, and objectivism toward that which is going on in the nation and they caution that much can be lost and nothing gained. To this must be added yet a word about the pamphlets prepared by party member students of the department, in which it is very obvious that the strike is a mistake. These pamphlets are being distributed everywhere.

Katarzyna Bojanowicz, Damir Zalewski, Jaroslaw Goliniewski, Krzysztof Sosnowski, Slawomir Kietlinski, Jaroslaw Spyra, Robert Witkowski, and Leszek Jagodzinski are some of the signatories who note that this is a lesson in democracy and pluralism for NZS colleagues. These in turn, speak for everyone despite the fact that they do not have the right to do so. Therefore, they hung this appeal and poster. Initially it was signed by WDiNP students; later, however, they added "PZPR members," upon NZS demands so that this would not be misconstrued as representing everyone's opinion. Why not? They speak only for themselves.

On the other hand, this pluralism is amusing. The WDiNP rents part of the Philosophy Faculty building. Therefore, when they posted their party opinion, NZS Philosophy representatives came to them and informed them that they were breaking the law, since the building does not belong to them but rather to the philosophy faculty. They refused to accept this and determined that the NZS philosophy representatives would have to apply to the NZS through the WDiNP, and also forbid them from hanging banners with certain slogans. They dismissed this.

As NZS noted, these are not the same proposals as before. We should not concern ourselves with them. The social ones, yes, they should be analyzed, but only in a comprehensive manner. If the students are so poor and miserable then why do they wish to extend their studies at the same time? It is obvious that this includes the student employment cooperative and the large sums of money which can be earned in it. And how does this money compare with higher scholarships? Besides, why not cooperate on matters of vital importance to us? Of

course, the critical situation with buildings, the tragic housing situation, renovation of student housing are all scandalous. But these political issues are senseless.

There was already talk about the fact that the NZS moved into the buildings on the small courtyard which are designated for official organizations. Coexistence is continuing for now. Under difficult conditions, the students keep painting new banners in the hallways while ZSP University Council members work as always. They gained entrance to the university campus in the normal manner by showing the guards their NZS student identification cards. No one is upset any longer, as would have been the case several years ago when it would have been said: "Do not let them in, they are from the ZSP." Courtesy and respect for different and opposing opinions predominate.

The ZSP University Council, however, expressed its opinion with regard to what is happening at the university by posting what looks like a big sheet with huge letters painted on it saying "The strike at Warsaw University is an unjust and ineffective form of protest. Participation in the strike is an individual matter for each student to decide."

It is easy to find out what meetings are being planned by reading the posters. Maciej Zalewski, a representative of the so-called RKW NSZZ "Solidarity" for the Mazowsze region, was invited on the day of the strike.

Maciej Zalewski is an assistant at the Polish Studies Faculty, and there were many students present here who wanted to hear what he had to say. The speaker noted that he was offering his personal opinions. Strikes which endure for a period of time have come about spontaneously. They were not organized by Solidarity, although they did take part. Today Solidarity activists, however, do not believe that a strike is an effective form of protest. The public is so divided in opinion, apathetic, bitter, and incapable of unified and large-scale opposition. The student strike will not change any of these facts, it is only a minor episode which should not be prolonged.

The fact is that Warsaw University should not associate isolated, sporadic and spontaneous protests with public opinion, but rather become a calm and permanent intellectual center of opposition. Therefore, although the picnic atmosphere is pleasant, it should be necessary to begin reading books and to discuss, in other words, to obtain a broader knowledge and prepare oneself intellectually for protest so that after a certain time one can demand the immediate fulfillment of proposals which are not obvious to all.

This was the essence of the speech, more or less. The students reacted differently. Some felt that a long-term strike represented one way of manifesting their views and demonstrating student support for the striking workers' demands. Others warned that the six proposals could be divided into two groups: proposals whose fulfillment

will not change anything ("The government can always print more money and raise wages and increase scholarships") and those which are unrealistic (this concerns the first three on the list). Therefore, the Warsaw University strike should rather be treated as a manifestation of pride. Consequently, even the 1-day strike is totally adequate. Someone else also noted that perestroika will soon be tested. Supporters of change frequently refer to positive Polish experiences in the area of democratization. While perestroika opponents and supporters of the "hard-line approach" have an excellent argument in the form of a statement such as: "Look what is currently taking place in Poland." Perhaps the fate of Soviet perestroika and at the same time our fate will depend upon peace in our country.

Dr Witold Kusinski, first secretary of the PZPR University Council has formulated an opinion on the strike: to say nothing of the fact that this is illegal, it is obvious that the students are being led. For example, there are people who show-for example at the mass meetings-when [the students are to] yell and when [they are] to raise their hands with the fingers forming the letter "V." No, this is not as spontaneous as it appears.

The secretary also has an opinion as to the proposals. It is true that the youth should have the right to organize. But with the stipulation that the organizations should not be insolent. Here by their very actions students present this insolence, and in its highest form.

The regulation on higher education, like every other, is not perfect. What are the changes? Everything points to the fact that the changes are total. Therefore, anarchy? Increasing higher education grants is basic, but it appears that it is impossible to carry out. What about scholarships? The fact is that there are students who have financial problems. After all, there are academic work cooperatives. They can earn tremendous amounts of money there. Consequently?

The KU [University Committee] Executive Committee met on Thursday morning. It endorsed the position expressed by the deputy rector for student affairs: If the strike will end today, studies will continue on a normal basis; however, if the strike is prolonged, then it will be necessary to interrupt classes until it is called off.

In the afternoon the university administration's position with regard to the events was posted on the gates of the Kazimierzowski Palace, which is the rector's office. The Warsaw University rector, deputy rectors, and deans have determined that the organizers of the 4 May, Wednesday mass meeting did not even attempt to legalize it. The administration asks students who did not participate in the strike not to join in and exacerbate the already existing damage. They write that the continuation of the protest threatens the university, its employees, and students with serious consequences. They will

commit themselves to try to bring about a broadening of pluralism in public and political life, as well as seeking to improve working and educational opportunities.

At a subsequent mass meeting at 16:00, the students resolved to interrupt the strike but not to terminate it. The organizers declared that they continue to support the nation's strikers.

Hundreds of students left Krakowskie Przedmiescie. Hundreds remained. NZS security personnel are now picking up empty mineral water bottles and yogurt containers. New information continues to appear in the strike newspaper which is posted on the wall, and banners continue to appear.

["P.S."] The Little Ones From NZS

Student trust arouses sympathy in many and elicits pleasant recollections of one's youth—this spirit, sense of humor, and wit. Books have been written and films made about the students and graduates.

It appears, however, that an undesirable person will attach himself and will force his way into the student brotherhood. Unfortunately, this was the case in Krakow over the past few days. Indiscriminate and irresponsible slogans such as: "Down with the Commune," "Down with Yalta," "Death to Bolsheviks," appeared.

Today, no one is concerned with this creation, although if one were to ask the banner carriers of the illegal NZS, for example, about Yalta, many would not be able to answer.

It is worse that these little ones not only shout but they also take part in acts of vandalism. For example, bottles were thrown at an ambulance, and they also tried to construct barriers near the student dormitories out of trash cans.

This cannot constitute part of student games.

12229/08309

Workers Claim Social Benefits, Wage Scale Eliminate Motivation

26000363 Warsaw ZWIAZKOWIEC in Polish
No 17, 24 Apr 88 pp 1, 3

[Text] When the risks of this year's price-income policy were discussed along the lines of trade unions/government in deciding on the protective measures for lessening the impact of the cost of living increase, the amount of family aid benefits was named as being among those measures. The truth is that opinions on what this social benefit should be have strongly differed for a long time now. "Because," some say, "if this is to be a conscious social service resulting from the government's protective role and one that assists the family budget, then let this be a symbolic amount. Let us then say with all honesty

that all children are ours and let us give equally to each." "Just a minute," cry others, "if the government is to assist, help out, should it not give preferential treatment to those who are weaker and give them more?"

This year's most recent decisions, naturally, have not solved this dilemma but have intensified it even more. The scale of social benefits has increased whereas the income brackets on which they are based have created, as it turns out, the possibility of various schemes. Thus, complaints and protests are flowing in from entire work crews, from people who make a living honestly working double shifts, "Why is my buddy, who often works less, taking in more pay; does it have to be that it is worth making less in order to get more, together with the family assistance benefit?" Yes, in many instances that is the case and it starts to sharply divide people. The representatives of OPZZ and the government announced a thorough investigation of this situation; corrections are needed and they are to be looked into immediately following the assessment of the first half of the year. However, will there not be a dilemma in that in order to give more to some it will be necessary to take away from others? Perhaps it really would be a good idea to promote the concept that this is only assistance and not a guarantee of basic child support and allocate this social assistance in equal amounts regardless of the family income?

Our survey hopes to contribute to the discussion on this problem. We are waiting for your comments, dear readers. We will gladly publish them in our columns. (Editor)

Irena Jozefowska from the "Fasty" Cotton Industry Plants in Bialystok: "How can things be going well in the country when it does not pay for people to work? I will give an example. Two women, who are raising two children alone, are employed as machine rewinders. Last year, one of them 'worked for two people' by doing extra work and overtime whereas the other one did not overwork herself. And today, the first one receives 2,000 zloty in social service benefits whereas the latter receives 7,500 zloty. Such disparity gives rise to discontent among people. Social assistance benefits should not be so differentiated. If someone toils and earns more at the expense of his or her health, why should he lose because of this? Those who work hard are the ones who are unhappy. Those who loaf around are getting paid for nothing. I am not negating financial assistance for large families who find themselves in difficult material circumstances. However, this can be dealt with differently, e.g., with assistance granted in situations involving fate."

Jan Kimber representing the Vocational Schools Complex No 3 in Ciechanow: "I would think it is about time we stopped supporting other people's children. A good worker, who makes 45,000 zloty will receive 3,200 zloty in assistance for each of his three children and his nonworking wife, i.e., a sum total of 57,000 zloty. A worker, who has the same type of family but does not work as well and earns 35,000 zloty, will receive 7,000

zloty in assistance or a total of 63,000 zloty. Thus, what kind of work incentive does this produce? People say, 'I will work less and live better.' Social assistance, according to the current principles, is making a joke of those who make an honest living. I have calculated that my wife who makes 23,000 zloty is working for 500 zloty. If she were to stay home, I would receive 22,500 zloty in assistance for her and our two children. We are already receiving signals indicating that women who work as cleaning women or kitchen help, earn approximately 20,000 zloty and have three to four children, will quit working. They will stay at home and will receive the same kind of money... Such badly thought out decisions as the one about social assistance benefits undo our economy."

Roman Wisniewski from the "Zamech" Mechanical Plants in Elblag: "We are in the midst of a reports-elections campaign in departmental councils. Meetings are taking place in the workplace. People are upset with the scale of financial assistance. Those who have many children and make little, receive more than those who work hard. And yet, a plant has more benefit from a good worker. Those who do not work as well and as hard not only receive higher social assistance benefits but also pay less for work sponsored vacation and kindergarten. In the case of vacation, the difference comes to approximately 50 percent of the cost, i.e., 10,000 zloty. There is no motivation for better, more productive work but there is for...bearing more children who are guilty of nothing although this entire discussion pertains to them."

Leokadia Kaminska from the "Dywilan" Carpet Factory in Lodz: "I make 25,000 zloty and have two children. I receive 2,000 zloty in assistance for each child. Before, I used to receive 1,300 zloty. In taking into consideration the price increases, is not a 700 zloty increase ridiculous? What can 2,000 zloty pay for today? Probably only milk for a small child. In families where both husband and wife work, the income per person is usually more than 13,000 zloty and social assistance then comes to 2,000 zloty. Who receives 7,000? Single mothers and women on child raising leave. In our plant, people are complaining that in comparison with price increases and the cost of living, social assistance benefits have increased definitely too little."

Stanislaw Mlynarczyk, FSM [Small Car Factory] Plant No 1 in Bielsko-Biala: "A delegation of shop workers came to me with regard to the social assistance benefits. They were asking whether the criteria that are currently in effect will change. They claimed that 2,000 zloty is not enough and 7,500 zloty is anti-incentive to work. Such a wide range in the benefit amount based on the per person family income is conducive to the creation of paradoxical situations. For example, a worker who in order to make some extra money took in 60 hours of overtime, received less in pay than the one who worked only the set period of time. A woman, who has 11 children, received 100,000 zloty in social assistance and does not work. A

worker, who has three children and a wife on child raising leave, takes in a larger pay than the director of school workshops. After all, the cost of providing for a child is the same everywhere. Why does it have to be different here?"

Andrzej Kaluza, MPK [Municipal Transportation enterprise]-Lodz: "Currently the situation is such that we have better and worse children. Recent actions involving family assistance increases have resulted in that it does not pay for those who have a large number of working children. In my opinion and also that of the work crew, the only criterion should be work. After all, there is so much talk of quality and productivity and then decisions are made which distort the slogans.

"We have a tram driver working for us with five children. He makes as much as is set by the minimum work time and it is difficult to persuade him to work on his days off because he argues that if he earns more, his social benefits will be smaller. So, why should he?"

"We have other examples as well. There is one worker who has 13 children. His wife does not work. He is entitled to the highest social benefit: 7,500 zloty. By multiplying this by 14 persons, we obtain slightly over 100,000 zloty. A lot? That depends what side of the coin we are looking at. If we take into account the money spent by the enterprise for social benefits for one employee, then indeed... However, if we look at this from the point of view of the cost of living, then it is not much.

"The issue of family assistance benefits is always controversial. Such differentiation as is currently the case is not the most fortunate. It constantly evokes much emotion. I feel that a correction is needed."

Stanislaw Galka, "9 Maja" Woolen Industry Plants in Lodz: "Family social assistance benefits have brought in much discontent among our work crew. The opinion dominates that those who are rather at odds with work receive the most. Nearly 80 percent of the workers earn more than 30,000 zloty and they are the ones who are entitled to the lowest assistance benefits per child amounting to 2,000 zloty. If we take into account the protective amount of 6,000 zloty plus benefit increases, then wage increases due to price hikes came to an average of 3,000 zloty for these people. This is not right. I feel that OPZZ should resume talks with the government with regard to changing the system of social assistance benefits in general."

Irmira Dworzynska—Repair-Construction work Cooperative in Warsaw: "I am raising two children. I am a single mother earning 18,000 zloty monthly. I receive social assistance in the amount of 7,500 zloty per child. Together with compensation—a sum total of an additional 21,000 due to price increases. Therefore, this is more than I make myself..."

Lucyna Boniewicz—Pomeranian Leather Industry Plants in Bydgoszcz: "I am outraged at such differences in the amount of increases in family assistance benefits. I am a conscientious worker, wife and mother. I have a husband who after 30 years of work makes 30,000 zloty. I also have two school-age children. In sum, our income for four persons comes to 52,000 zloty. Thus, 13,000 zloty per family member. In connection with this, I am entitled to social assistance for the children in the amount of 4,000 zloty. There is a family living in my house with four children. Neither the mother nor the father work full-time. They are living off their social assistance benefits and somehow they manage—no worse than I. Is this fair? Let me give you another example. I have a friend who is considered a single mother from a legal standpoint because she does not have a marriage certificate. However, she lives with the father of her two daughters and receives the highest family supplement. She says that this is very profitable for her..."

Maria Sosnowska—"Społem" financial department administrator in Kwidzyn: "There is no other way to describe the present social assistance benefits but that they are simply a great deal of nonsense. I cannot understand why one child is to receive 7,500 zloty whereas another 2,000 zloty? Is it because the father of one labors and makes a lot of money whereas the other one takes it easy? It is not infrequent that a loafer will receive 7,500 zloty while a hard working employee—2,000 zloty. Everyone is unhappy with this situation at my place of work. Such great differences should not exist in these benefits."

Joachim Wrombel—foreman of the production department at the "Romet" Bicycle Plants in Bydgoszcz: "I am against such great differentiation in benefits. All children are equal. Why should a worker who works well and increases the national income be a loser in this? Why is his child—as if by punishment—brought down to the last category? I have one child and receive only 2,000 zloty for it. This is so because I belong to the hard-working category."

Jozef Warda—director of the planning department at "Romet": "I have two sons. I receive 2,000 zloty for each of them. These amounts are ridiculously small. One son is 15 years old and the other is 11. Can I buy them anything with this money? Children should receive equal amounts. That which is happening today is highly reprehensible from a social and economic standpoint."

Jerzy Krzyspiak—digesterman [warzelniczy] at the Cellulose-Paper Making Plants in Ostroleka: "For four persons (my wife and three children), I receive a total of 30,000 zloty in family assistance benefits. Personally, therefore, I am happy. However, I do feel that the current social benefit system is not the best. Some of my colleagues lose a lot, i.e., those who make more or who have a higher per capita family income. Besides, it does

not pay me to make more, either. If I were to earn, for example, several hundred zloty more, I would lose almost automatically at least 8,000 zloty on social benefits."

Eugeniusz Ludwiczak—warehouse worker at the Cellulose-Paper Making Plants in Ostroleka: "I am upset at what is happening with social benefits. Last year, my wife was ill. We needed money. Therefore, I took on after hours work with the loading-unloading brigade. I made some cash. The plant automatically computed this money into the average and instead of 5,500 zloty for each of my children, I now receive 2,000 zloty. It turned out that I was a fool to work extra. If I had sat on my behind, I would now be able to make up for this money with the benefits. I would have them in the form of family assistance."

Jadwiga Kloczek—trade union secretary at the "Radoskor" Leather Industry Plants in Radom: "All children are equal. That is why all of them should receive the same social assistance benefits regardless of their parents' occupational group. Furthermore, if today we can only afford to allocate 2,000 zloty to each of them, so let it be. However, if this amount can be 3,500 zloty so be it too. On the other hand, we cannot allow this to come to the point that some parents will make a living from the assistance benefits. Also at our plants, the amounts received from these benefits are at times higher than the wages earned. In such a situation it pays to take time off and relax instead of work."

Kazimierz Nowak—Nitrogen Plants in Tarnow:

"The criticism of the present system may be interpreted in various ways. It is possible to offend someone. Those who have more children are undoubtedly happy and are not interested in changes. However, those with somewhat fewer mouths to feed, may have cause for displeasure. Today, even very high earnings of a good worker become levelled quickly by the family of the one who is not as good. Furthermore, the one who makes more will in the end find himself in a worse situation when he receives a much smaller social assistance benefit and will bring home less. No wonder then, that many of my colleagues are seriously considering sending their wives back to the kitchen. Their average income will drop then and the benefits due to having children will rise. I feel that it would be much better if everyone were to receive the same amount, e.g., 4,000 or 5,000 zloty per child. However, this is my personal opinion and not that of the trade organization of which I am a member. With the current system of social assistance benefits, the motivational function of wages disappears from sight. And this, I would think, is not the best thing for the reform and for its further fate.

9853/9604

**Consultative Council Session Focuses on
Emigration Issues**
26000416b Warsaw RADA NARODOWA in Polish
No 19, 7 May 88 p 3

[Report on 7th Session of the Consultative Council,
dated 27 Apr 88]

[Text] On 27 April, the latest session of the Consultative Council headed by the chairman of the People's State Council was held at the Belweder. The deliberations were led by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The topic of the 13-hour meeting were the current problems of Polish emigration as well as issues related to the long-term stay abroad of Polish citizens who have no intention of remaining abroad. In approaching the discussion, the council members had at their disposal material prepared by the ministries of foreign and internal affairs presenting the nature and scale of this phenomenon. Information on the work program of the "Polonia" Society for Contact With Polonia Abroad presented by Jozef Klasa, general secretary of the society, was also heard.

Being deeply convinced that cooperation with an emigration numbering many millions is of significance not only to the national economy but, above all, to a feeling of community of Poles here at home and Polonia abroad, the council members formulated proposals aimed at tightening these bonds with the homeland. At the same time, reference was made to the complete agreement in this matter of the public, the state authorities and the Church as well as that of economists, politicians, scholars, authors, and sociopolitical organizations.

While respecting Polonia's loyalty toward the countries of its residence, support was expressed for a model of cooperation based on the conviction that people with ties to the Polish nation, with its culture, are a valuable commodity to the homeland. It is high time that it be recognized that Poland and Polonia need each other.

Within this context, the significance of contacts with the emigration of the 1980's, born and educate in People's Poland, was emphasized. At the same time, the necessity of breaking the disturbing trend of leaving the country, even at the expense of breaking off ties with it, occurring among a part of the young generation of Poles, was stressed.

Much attention was devoted to matters involving the recognition of dual citizenship of Poles, passport regulations, and the foreign currency law. The need for amending the current legislation regulating economic cooperation with Polonia was pointed out. The possibilities and expediency of normalizing temporary emigration of those working abroad and extended stays abroad associated with foreign studies, scholarly work and acquiring professional qualifications were discussed.

Statements about the need for the moral evaluation of some emigrational decisions were also heard during the discussion. Cases where an emigrating individual leaves his family, deprives it of care, behaves in an undignified manner in the new environment or place of resident, and carries on pseudotourism that is compromising to his fellow countrymen, were recognized as reprehensible.

The need for the creation and development of conditions in the country that would give young Poles the realistic possibility of satisfying not only material needs but also of using their natural creative drive, energy, and initiative, was also discussed. This opportunity is being created by the deep economic reform and by democratization.

Therefore, the Consultative Council expressed its deep concern for the fate of the already initiated process of reforms. In the awareness of the difficult situation in which a significant portion of our society lives, it was confirmed that everything that affects the delaying or halting of the reforms as well as the recent wage demands that exceeded current realistic possibilities of the economy, threaten the future of the country and the nation.

In addition to this, some other problems arising from the topics of previous sessions were discussed.

We shall publish material from the Consultative Council session in a special edition of our weekly immediately after obtaining authorization for all the statements.

09753/06662

**Letter on USSR Polonia Demographics, Cultural
Club Formation**
26000284b Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
No 14, 2 Apr 88 p 13

[Letter to the Editor, written by Aleksander Siemionow,
Lida, USSR]

[Text]

"Politics in Lida"

I am very happy that after a long break (7 years) I again have the opportunity to read my favorite weekly. While it is expensive here, I economize in other ways, and POLITYKA now comes to my home (with a 6-day delay). It can be said that I read it from cover to cover, and then my friends read it one after the other. I enjoyed the interview with the PRL consul in Lvov (POLITYKA 4/88). I beg to disagree with the consul when he says that Poles living in the USSR are scattered all about. This is only partly true, and is applicable only to the Ukrainian SSR. In the Grodno and Vilnius areas they live in large concentrations. For example, in the Vilnius region 60-70 percent of the people are Poles, and in the Shakshinski region up to 85 percent of the people are Poles. The same is true in the Voronovo and Lida regions, where Poles

account for more than half the inhabitants. In the city where I live, 37 percent of the inhabitants (official figures) are Poles. This works out to 24,500 persons. In our Grodno district live 300,000 Poles (again these are official figures). So can one say that the Poles are dispersed?

The majority of my friends and acquaintances among the Poles in Lida are very sorry that we live a little too far from the Polish border and we cannot watch Polish television programs. Incidentally, not only the Poles regret this, but others do too, such as the Belorussians and Russians. The Vilnius paper CZERWONY SZTANDAR receives many letters on this matter from readers, but invariably reply that international agreements are necessary for this. Wronski, the head of TPPRS [Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship] for many years, said it would be very good if Poles could watch Soviet TV programs in Poland, and Russians could watch Polish programs. After all, we live side by side and are the closest of friends, but as General Jaruzelski said while signing the Declaration of Cooperation on 21 April 1987, we still know very little about each other. TV really is a window onto one's neighbor and I believe sincerely that the time will come when Poles and Russians will be able to learn what happened today at their neighbors' from the programs "Czas" and "Dziennik telewizyjny." A few words about the declaration signed on 21 April 1987. This fact made me very happy. My friends and I discussed it tempestuously. For a long time we thought that we, simple people, could meet this historic document halfway. We decided to set up the Polish Culture Lovers Club. We already have 32 members now. We want to broaden our knowledge of our friends' country. In December will be the 190th anniversary of the birth of our countryman, Adam Mickiewicz, and we will vote on conferring his name on our club. On 1 November several of our club members were at the grave of Maryla Wereszczakowna, Adam's beloved, and they left flowers and lit candles. The more such clubs there are on both sides of the border, the stronger our friendship will be. Fortunately, the times when more is said than done have come to an end.

13324/12232

Klasa on Polonia Society Activities, Efforts To Improve Relations

26000284a Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish
No 14, 2 Apr 88 p 13

[Interview with Jozef Klasa, secretary general, Polonia Society, by Witold Pawlowski]

[Text]

[Box]

Jozef Klasa, born in 1931 in Bochnia; graduate of the Main School for the Foreign Service; consul in Lille; ambassador to Cuba, Mexico, in Central American

countries, and Morocco. From 1971 to 1975, first secretary of the PZPR KK [Coordinating Committee] and head of WRN [Voivodship People's Council] in Krakow, and from 1980 to 1981, leader of the PZPR KC [Central Committee] Press, Radio, and Television Department.

[POLITYKA] What can be done to stimulate contacts with Polonia, with the emigrants? They [contacts] are plagued with less than the best record, unpleasant incidents, and mistrust.

[Jozef Klasa] We must begin with ourselves, to see how we gave offense and where we were guilty. It is impossible to blame all this on the Stalinist period, the cold war, and on the obstinacy of emigration leaders....

[Question] Do we begin a new life by beating our breasts?

[Answer] It is not a question of national expiation and masochism. We simply cannot go forward without getting rid of this lead ball on our leg which holds us back. The first postwar years formed the Poland-Polonia atmosphere. First there was an appeal for their return from emigration, with a vehement response, and later the first severances. There was a government resolution in 1946 stripping Polish citizenship from 76 individuals, among them the most outstanding military commanders in the emigration, and further, [this influenced] the attitude toward the AK [Home Army in World War II] and the Polish Armed Forces in the West in general. The emigration as a whole is acknowledged to be a bad thing for People's Poland (the divested rights were not the end of it), an evil which it is necessary to guard against with an appropriate passport, visa, and property policy. Mikolajczyk's escape and the Tatar and Kirchmajer cases all created a mood and climate among the emigrants.

[Question] Yes, but that was more than 30 years ago.

[Answer] Yes, but we are paying the political costs to this day. For in Poland we disengaged ourselves from Stalinism, more or less compensated those wronged; the approach to many matters changed, and opinions were revalued; whereas today Helsinki III is regarded as a basket. But there out in the world the second half of this problem remains, unsolved, and the wrongs have not been righted.

[Question] Certainly this is why the society always sided with the Polonus [typical Pole of past centuries] in a four-cornered cap [part of Krakow costume] who is moved to tears in Okecie, having danced turns round his partner and departs. Do you have a new, very ambitious strategy, appropriate to the new times and form of emigration? Why are we constantly stuck with a range of stereotypes?

[Answer] We ourselves are certainly preventing [a change], for we cannot do otherwise, as we are accustomed to what we do. Up to now, the partners of the

Polonia Society in too small a degree were the group of people numbering 2.5 million born in Poland, of which 1.5 million emigrated from People's Poland, and the prewar emigrants or their second and third generation. The most recent emigration was a tainted subject, so it was rarely touched upon. We were not able to convince them to want anything but sentimentality and folklore. Some of them accepted what we are doing, for they had no other choice. If they wanted to be in Poland, it had to be for the folklore festival in Rzeszow, the choral festival in Koszalin, or the Polonia games in Krakow. A newer program also exists: summer courses in language and culture at Polish higher educational institutions. We award 200 stipends for Polonia students, and young people come for the summer camp, Polonia teachers for educational courses, but some of them, unfortunately indiscernible, pursue interests in Poland.

[Question] Now the list of potential partners has expanded greatly.

[Answer] We don't want to take any step which could be interpreted as cutting off the emigrants loyal to Poland, but we do not want to forget the postwar emigration, nor to drag along the old mistakes of negation and censure of those who decided to live abroad. Independently of such a great bitterness, the fact of the emigration itself augments us.

[Question] Are such new approaches to the emigrants accepted by all?

[Answer] There is no unanimity of thought in Poland on any matter, and especially on one so delicate and controversial. As allies we include 5 to 6 million Poles, families, and close relatives who maintain daily contacts with them. We have allies in the government among those who think in a modern way and are aware that a Pole always wandered, emigrated, and was able to return. But we are not deceiving ourselves: an unusually difficult and arduous road awaits us. The entire legal system must keep pace with the declarations. But it is not keeping pace. The first passport liberalization in July 1987 does not exhaust the subject.

[Question] I found declarations in the most recent Society documents that you want to become a spokesman for the emigrants' interests. Do the emigrants regard you as their advocate?

[Answer] The Society does not have the best reputation among Polonia members—I don't want to give a detailed analysis here as to how much is true and how much is not—and is not accepted by some of the emigrants. Among other things this is because it always tried to represent the government's side, and was less concerned about how to join the interests of the state with the interests of the emigrants. We want them to feel now that in us they have an advocate and that there is someone who will stand up for them.

[Question] What matters does this advocate have in his briefcase?

[Answer] We are trying to remove all barriers which hinder free contacts of Polonia: passport, visa, and property barriers which slow down the exchange of people.

[Question] A half year has already passed since the liberalization of passport policy. Is this all that you as a Society had to offer the government and the emigrants? Are you preparing the next step?

[Answer] There is work going on so that a Pole would have only one passport in his drawer, moreover, one and the same passport for a person living in Poland and also for a person who settled permanently or temporarily abroad.

[Question] When will it be finalized?

[Answer] It is a complicated thing, for complex property matters comes into play. A Pole with a single passport living abroad must cease to be a "foreign-currency foreigner." There are complicated entries, but there is also no other way out like a single passport. It is necessary to eliminate the relic which is the consular passport, an embarrassing monstrosity which throws the authorities of various countries into confusion and causes many humiliating situations for its holders.

[Question] But what about the law concerning the working of foreign capital in Poland? How can one talk of the return of compatriots since in reality they are unable to buy homes, a piece of land, or anything here? Why has this effort lasted so long? What is there to wait for?

[Answer] More open solutions encounter formidable resistance in conservative administrative circles. They maintain that anything can be bought with the approval of the minister of internal affairs.

[Question] But really, with special approval—who receives it and after how many years of trying, and how many vouchers must be submitted?

[Answer] Opponents note that this is protection against selling out Poland and socialism, and defense of the sacred fire. Thus if one who buys a little house or a plot of land here could take it on his shoulders and go to Australia, like a deteriorated manor house that he would want to repair. To generalize, without progress in internal reform and without constitutional equalization of the state, collective, and private sectors, better economic contacts abroad, including those with Polonia, will be impossible. Progress in one area limits the other.

[Question] One cannot build Polonia islands....

[Answer] Yes. It is important which level of reprivatization the state undertakes. I understand the misgivings whether foreign capital will flood us or a foreign system will buy us out. But we are also building a gigantic dike against growth, and meanwhile the rivulet is barely trickling.

[Question] Then please give us a fixed date when we finally will manage to handle the regulations and when it will be possible to begin to act?

[Answer] Nothing is easy, unfortunately. The concretes always fall behind lovely declarations. We say come, invest, we are open, and in practice there are neither hotels for them nor a plot of land by the house nor easy approval for business. It is one big bureaucratic waste of time. I repeat, we will be opened to the world outside as soon as efficient arrangement of our national affairs occurs. Otherwise it will not succeed.

[Question] On the Polonia Society's new "attendance records" were three large new groups. Let us begin with the most important one, the 1.15 million Poles living in the USSR. How do we want to fill in this living blank?

[Answer] The new climate in Polish-Soviet relations is beginning to make this great, symbolically significant rapprochement of Polonia with the USSR possible after many years, that is, with Soviet citizens of Polish nationality. We broke the taboo and we see a mutual interest and joint role in building friendship, contacts, and exchanges.

[Question] What will we propose to them?

[Answer] That which is of interest to them—participation in the life of a Polish colony, tourist and family trips, Polish science, newspapers, books, stipends, and participation in conferences of scholars of Polish origin. We want these contacts to arise calmly and spontaneously. How will they develop? Time will tell. We treat them like our other brothers scattered around the world. We want friendly relations between our states to be filled with daily meaning.

[Question] The second group on the fringe of the diaspora are those who went to the FRG. It seems that some of them feel more like Poles than Germans, and others feel neither like one nor the other.

[Answer] This is a delicate problem. We observe that some of these emigrants to the FRG did not cut the Polish umbilical cord. Many have trouble with identity, and are not able to feel that they are German. Apart from this, as we continue to evaluate their emigration, we want them to be friends of the country of their birth, whose language they know and with whose culture they are more saturated than the German. They must and should be loyal citizens of their present settlement. This is natural. We will not, however, persist in condemning them. This would indicate a lack of realism.

[Question] Do they want and need us?

[Answer] More and more often nostalgia surfaces in them, to which we must respond wisely and in a friendly fashion. Are we interested in having a group of many hundred thousand in the FRG with whom we are forever at odds?

[Question] The third group—even more out on the fringe—consists of the half million Jews of Polish origin.

[Answer] It is clear that we are not treating the diaspora of Polish Jews like Polonia. But we are here to satisfy the demand for Polish culture from those whose roots lie here. We deem it a mistake that since 1967 we have turned a cold shoulder to them. We are observing with satisfaction and hope today's changes in which there is also a different attitude toward the so-called Pomarcow operation. In those areas where we can be helpful, we will be. I must say that often the Polish Jews seek contact with Polish culture, cultivate Polish speech in their families, and know its culture better than some of our new emigrants. Is this perhaps because they do not have any complexes? It is certainly easier for them to maintain a distance from the "hot" problems of Poland—not being Polonia, they have a different point of view.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

[Box]

—Thirteen million people of Polish origin are scattered throughout the world. This is the fourth most numerous emigration, after the Chinese, Germans, and Italians. It is definitely the largest if taken in proportion to the number of inhabitants in Poland.

—In the last census, 1.15 million citizens of the USSR declared Polish nationality.

—During the past 7 years, 700,000 individuals left Poland for good or prolonged their stays abroad.

13324/12232

General Siwicki Meets With Scouting Officials
26000410c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
31 May 88 p 2

[Unattributed and untitled article]

[Text] The Main Council of Friends of Scouting under the chairmanship of Army General Florian Siwicki familiarized itself with the Scouts' program for celebrating the 70th anniversary of the recovery of independence and the 45th anniversary of the People's Polish Army. A major aspect of that celebration will be the July jamboree of the ZHP [Polish Scouts Union] on the site of the Grunwald Battlefield.

Gen F. Siwicki thanked the leadership of the ZHP for its preparations so far and assured the Scouts that they can count on the army's help in translating them into reality.

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